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Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:

<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000e059>

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JUDAS MACCABAEUS,

HANDEL'S VICTORY ORATORIO OF 1747,

AND ITS DEVELOPMENT IN

LONDON PERFORMANCES UNTIL 1774.

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the

MUSIC DEPARTMENT, FACULTY OF ARTS

of

THE OPEN UNIVERSITY

Author's number : M7023280

Date of submission : 16th December 1994

Date of award : 2nd February 1995 DECEMBER, 1994.

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

By the time of Handel's death in 1759, Judas Maccabaeus had become the composer's second most popular oratorio: it received thirty-three London performances during the composer's lifetime, and continued to receive regular performances in London from 1760 until 1774.

This thesis begins with a review of the historical and social events which led to the composition of Judas Maccabaeus in 1746. Then the evolution of the libretto and music up to the first performance on 1 April 1747 is traced. The form of Handel's first performing version is reconstructed, involving the interpretation of early sources and the correction of errors found in available published editions of the work.

Chapters 4-6 trace the subsequent versions of the work, as presented by Handel and his immediate successors in London. Evidence from the conducting score used by Handel and J.C.Smith the younger, and from early manuscript copies of the score and contemporary word-books, is linked with information about successive casts of solo singers. Newly-found material has enabled a revision to be made of previous assumptions concerning Handel's performing versions during 1747-1750.

The content of Judas Maccabaeus from 1751 until the composer's death in 1759 is charted season by season, and the continued development of Judas Maccabaeus from 1760 until 1774, previously ignored by commentators, is dealt with comprehensively. Finally the critical reception of the oratorio between 1747 and 1774 is reviewed.

This study clarifies many details relevant for future performances and new editions of Judas Maccabaeus, and presents a history of the work's development in performance, comparable to the published studies of Messiah.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank the library authorities and staff of the following libraries for their assistance: The British Library, Manchester Public Library, Birmingham Central Library, National Library of Scotland, the Fitzwilliam Museum and King's College, Cambridge, the Royal College of Music, the Institute of Historical Research, and the Universities of London, Birmingham and East Anglia. During visits abroad I have received considerable help at the Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg (Germany), the Huntington Library and the Princeton University Library (USA), and the Sydney University Library (Australia). My correspondence with other libraries mentioned in this thesis has been most courteously dealt with. The late Gerald Coke and the late Sir Gilbert Inglefield kindly allowed me access to their libraries on a number of occasions.

Chapter 4 of this thesis contains material used in my article 'Handel's Early Performances of Judas Maccabaeus. Some New Evidence and Interpretations', which has been accepted for publication in Music and Letters.

I am indebted to Donald Burrows for his help and guidance with my Handel studies and in the preparation of this thesis, and to Anthony Hicks for reading and commenting on the first draft of material for Chapter 4. My thanks are due to Ruth Smith for interesting discussions about literary matters connected with Handel's oratorios, and to Colin Timms who first drew my attention to the collection of word-books of Handel's oratorios he had discovered in Birmingham Central Library.

PREFACE

SYSTEM OF REFERENCES USED:

1. Abbreviations:

- a. Primary Sources connected with Judas Maccabaeus are referred to by the following initials:

A (Autograph Score; Lbl, RM 20.e.12)

B (Conducting Score; D-HS MA/1026)

P (Published word-book; Watts' first edition, 1747, Issue No.1)

L (Manuscript Libretto: US-Sm LA 65)

W (First edition of the music, Walsh, 1747)

- b. Each movement in this oratorio is identified by three sets of figures. My own numbering, encompassing all items used in this oratorio from 1747-1774, provides the first figure. The second figure is that used in the current Novello vocal score (ed. J.E. West). The third is the HWV numbering, as used in Händel-Handbuch, vol.2, pp. 296-307. The sign '-' is used where no number has been allocated (e.g. the Overture is numbered 1/1/-).

- c. Standard books and editions are referred to either by the author and an abbreviated title (e.g. Deutsch, Handel; Winton Dean, HDOM; Chrysander, HG), or by a shortened version of the title (e.g. The New Grove, and The London Stage; or HHB for Händel-Handbuch. Full titles and other details are given in the Bibliography.

- d. Libraries are referred to by the sigla used in The New Grove: all German library sigla are

prefixed by 'D-' (without '(ddr)' or '(brd)').

- e. The Theatres Royal and other London theatres are sometimes referred to simply as 'Covent Garden', 'Drury Lane' etc., as in The London Stage. 'Haymarket' implies the New or Little Theatre in the Haymarket, not The King's Theatre.
- f. Pages and folios are indicated by 'p.', 'pp.', 'f.' and 'ff.'.

2. Dates:

Dates prior to 3/14 September 1752, when Britain changed from the Julian calendar and adopted the Gregorian calendar, can be assumed to be Old Style (OS). After that date they are New Style (NS). The calendar year has been treated as beginning on 1 January, unless stated otherwise. Dates in the Julian calendar were 11 days behind that of the Gregorian calendar, which was in contemporary use throughout most of Europe.

3. Coinage and Currency

Amounts of money are expressed in the style used in the eighteenth century. Then the pound sterling (£) was represented by a gold coin, the sovereign. The pound was divided into 20 shillings (s) and the shilling into twelve pence (d). The half-sovereign, crown and half-crown (10s, 5s, and 2s 6d) were coins as well as values. The guinea was a gold coin which was used from 1717 until 1813 and was valued at 21 shillings. It was used for professional fees and subscriptions. Under modern decimal coinage (introduced into Great Britain on 15 February 1971)

the pound was subdivided into 100 pence (p).

So a guinea nominally became £1.05, a half-guinea (10s 6d) became 52½p, 5s became 25p, and 3s 6d became 17½p.

4. Major Sections of the Oratorio:

In general I have used 'Part' (as used in B and P), rather than 'Act' (as in A and L).

5. Soloists

Conjectures about a specific team of soloists are preceded by a question mark in square brackets thus: [?]. A conjecture about one soloist is shown by a question mark after his or her name as, for example: John Beard ?. The voice of a soloist has been decided on the basis of the clef (indicated by s,a,t,b) used for that soloist's music in A or B. First soprano, second soprano, alto, tenor and bass solo voices are indicated, respectively, as: [S], [S2], [A], [T], or [B]. In the Appendix the additional soprano soloists have subdivisions within these symbols (e.g. S1 and S1a). These are explained at the beginning of the relevant charts. The singer's role in Judas Maccabaeus that I have designated [S2] was written by Handel using the soprano clef, except for the Israelite Messenger and in two choruses. In subsequent performances the [S2] music was often allocated to a singer for whom Handel more frequently wrote in the alto clef.

6. Chorus

The four voices are indicated, respectively, as S,A,T, B in the Appendix Charts.

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und Universitätsbibliothek, Huntington Library, Birmingham
Central Library, and the Fitzwilliam Museum for permission
to use these illustrations.

CHAPTER 1.

JUDAS MACCABAEUS: THE BACKGROUND

Handel's Judas Maccabaeus was first performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden on 1 April 1747. It was one of a number of contemporary events which celebrated the suppression of the Jacobite Rebellion by the Duke of Cumberland and his army at Culloden on Wednesday 16 April 1746. Historical and political factors which brought about the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 also led to the creation of a particular type of oratorio, by influencing the style of the music and the content of the libretto. The first of these was the Occasional Oratorio of 1746; this was followed by Judas Maccabaeus in 1747.

The Act of Settlement of 1701

The Act of Settlement effected the Hanoverian Succession to the throne of England and Ireland. It was designed to prevent the Roman Catholic branch of the Stuart family succeeding to the British throne which, until this Act, was their lawful right. When the Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh refused to accept the Act, the English Parliament at Westminster passed The Act of Union in 1707, by which Scotland lost its own Parliament: it was represented at Westminster by 45 Scottish members in the House of Commons and by 16 peers in the House of Lords. Scotland retained its separate legal system and its own established church; additionally, it gained free trade with England. But the 1707 Act was an extremely unpopular Act in Scotland, and by preventing the Pretender from becoming King of Scotland it gave additional impetus to Jacobitism in that country.

The Jacobite Rebellion of 1745

In spite of previous Jacobite failures to restore the Stuarts to the British throne, Charles Edward, or Bonnie Prince Charlie as he was affectionally known to his supporters, set sail from France on 12 July 1745. Considerable political instability was caused in London between 19 August, when he raised his standard at Glenfinnan in the Western Highlands, and 16 April 1746, when his army was defeated by that of the Duke of Cumberland (King George II's younger son) on Culloden Moor, near Inverness. When Edinburgh was occupied by the Jacobites in September 1745, the Old Pretender was declared King, and Bonnie Prince Charlie his Regent. The rebels entered England, moved south and reached Derby by 4 December. There they were only one hundred and thirty miles from the capital. It seemed to many that London would also suffer the same fate as Edinburgh. Even when Bonnie Prince Charlie was persuaded to return to Scotland on 6 December, the Jacobite threat had not passed. There was always the possibility that France might send an army to support the rebels. By crushing the Jacobites at Culloden, Cumberland and his army ensured the security of the Hanoverian Succession, and with it the stability of the nation which had been growing increasingly prosperous under the first two Georgian kings.

Following Culloden, the Duke was widely accepted as a national hero. It was not until later that the subsequent retribution he and his men inflicted on the Highlands and

the Scottish people became known, although in 1746 this was portrayed by Tobias Smollett in his poem, 'The Tears of Scotland'.¹ At this time Cumberland's popularity in London was at its zenith and the gratitude of the nation soon expressed itself.

The House of Commons, on 15 May, resolved that an additional revenue of £25,000 per annum be settled on the Duke and his male heirs, for his 'signal services to his country.' Honours were poured on Cumberland. He was made Ranger of Windsor Great Park on 12 July, and Colonel of the 15th Dragoons on 6 September. There were various forms of commemoration for the victory at Culloden. A gold medal was struck with a bust of the Duke on the obverse side; on the reverse was a figure of Apollo pointing to a dragon. William Collins wrote 'How sleep the brave', John Wootton painted him on horseback on the battle field. The Tyburn Gate into Hyde Park was renamed 'Cumberland Gate' and the Duke's head became a familiar sight on tavern signs throughout the country.²

The theatres, as well as contemporary newspapers and magazines, heaped extravagant praise on the Duke. On Friday 25 April 1746, at Covent Garden, 'An Occasional Song on the Defeat of the Rebels was sung by Beard' (i.e. the tenor, John Beard) at a performance of Liberty Asserted and Orpheus and Eurydice.³ On Monday 28 April 1746 a representation of the Battle near Culloden House was performed at the New Wells in Goodman's Fields. On Wednesday 30 April, at the Haymarket Theatre, an 'Occasional Prologue' in honour of the Duke was given at a

performance of The Recruiting Officer and The Virgin Unmasked.⁴ On Friday 2 May 1746, before a performance of The Committee at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, a 'New Occasional Prologue' on the Duke of Cumberland's defeat of the rebels was recited.⁵

The London Magazine of July 1746, included 'A Song on the Victory obtained over the rebels by his Royal Highness, the Duke of Cumberland'. Above the first line of the music was printed 'The words by Mr. Lockman. Set by Mr. Handel. Sung by Mr. Lowe, &c.' The words are concerned with the Duke's recent victory. It begins: 'From scourging rebellion, and battling proud France, Crown'd with lawrels, (sic) behold British William advance.' The tune is similar to the aria 'Volate amori' in Handel's opera, Ariodante:

Ex.1(a)

A SONG on the VICTORY



Ex.1(b)

Ariodante.



The Whigs and Contemporary Religious Philosophy

The content and style of Judas Maccabaeus was influenced by current political and religious thinking. The Whigs, led by Sir Robert Walpole, dominated the English parliament during the reigns of the early Georgian monarchs. To establish their own position, the Whigs began to influence church appointments, especially that of the bishops.⁶ But a formal respect for the church and its services had existed for a long time. A prominent feature of the services was the sermon - usually a lengthy one measured by an hour glass. The publication of sermons by

eminent divines enabled them to be read by the literate section of the public at home. In an age when the country was engaged in building an empire and fighting off political predators, it is not surprising that it was the Old Testament, frequently quoted in these sermons, that appealed to many English people. As well as Kingly and priestly ritual, they could find support for law and order, liberty and national initiatives against oppression.

The historical Israel of the Bible offered to clergy of the Church of England a most congenial parallel. Judaism, as revealed in the Old Testament, presented an intense national concept of a people divinely set apart; a destiny that English Protestantism applied to itself. The English nation was seen as the new Israel, chosen by God as His instrument. This identification with the ancient Hebrews dates from the Reformation. The idea of the English, like the Jews in ancient times, being 'God's chosen race' stems from the political propaganda of Elizabethan times and specifically from the writings of the strict Calvinist, John Foxe (1516-1587) in his Acts and Monuments, usually referred to as 'The Book of Martyrs'.⁷ In the seventeenth century the idea was inherited and accentuated by the Parliamentary party during the Civil War. Members of it thought of themselves as the Chosen of the Chosen, strongly and deliberately identifying with the Old Testament, even to the use of Hebrew names in preference to those of the saints, a practice previously rare. The idea survived the Parliamentarians' political defeat to become, after the Restoration, one of the most prominent of English attitudes;

one promoted by the clergy in their sermons. By Handel's time this Puritan-descended concept had been translated from a religious idea into a broad social assumption: a prime example of the interaction of religion and politics.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the Church, encouraged by the Whigs, was giving support to such thinking. Englishmen liked the Old Testament for exalting righteousness, and also for its constant emphasis on morals, the primacy of law, its Puritanism, its unequivocal endorsement of private property and 'free enterprise'. They also loved the elaborate ritual, administered by a priesthood of high estate, the role of the King, and above all the staunch defence of the nation's ideals, laws and institutions by great commoners who rose to heroic leadership. Such was the development, through two centuries, of the Protestant ethic set in motion by John Foxe and his contemporaries in Elizabethan times.

In Chapter 2, when consideration is given to various literary aspects of Judas Maccabaeus, it will be seen that these political, religious and philosophical matters were an important feature in the libretto of the oratorio. Handel's treatment of the text was clearly a result of his Whig and Protestant sympathies, as well as his affection for his adopted country and its monarch.

Handel in 1745-1746

Handel was in difficulties in 1745, both financially and physically. His financial state was in no small measure due to the failure of a subscription scheme that he embarked

on following his success during the 1743 and 1744 Lenten Oratorio seasons.

Returning from Dublin to London in the autumn of 1742, Handel had made an agreement with John Rich to perform oratorios at Covent Garden during Lent, 1743. For this a subscription system of payment by patrons, as had been used in Dublin, was tried.⁸ Samson, first performed on 18 February 1743, was a great success. Horace Walpole (who preferred opera to oratorio) wrote to Horace Mann on 24 February stating that 'Handel has set up an Oratorio against the Opera, and succeeds'. On 3 March he wrote again saying that 'the oratorios thrive abundantly'.⁹ Clearly Samson had captured the public interest. On 15 March, Faulkner's Dublin Journal reported that 'The new oratorio ... has been performed four Times to more crowded audiences than were ever seen; more People being turned away for Want of Room each Night than hath been at the Italian Opera'.¹⁰ Such was the success of the first six performances of the new oratorio that it was announced that 'The Subscribers to Mr Handel's Six former Performances, who intend to continue their subscription on the same Conditions for six Entertainments more, are desir'd to send their Subscription-Money to Mr Handel's House in Brooke-Street..... in order to deliver out their Subscription-Tickets.'¹¹ The six further 'entertainments' given between 16 and 31 March 1743 were three performances of Messiah, two more of Samson, and one of L'Allegro, Il Penseroso ed il Moderato.

Samson was important in the development of the English Oratorio. It set a pattern for the future. It demonstrated

the capacity of English singers (especially John Beard) to hold an audience. But London music lovers were now split into two camps: those supporting non-Handelian opera, and the increasingly prosperous middle classes supporting Handel.¹² A number of the latter manifested religious prejudices which, among other things, inhibited the presentation of Messiah. It must have taxed the composer's patience, as a man of the theatre and one whose sympathies had been with opera, to be forced to bow to popular demand. But Handel was a pragmatist. He was not only a composer, he was also a business man with a keen appreciation of the need to react to the demand of the London audience. He relied on the public for their support: their tastes had to be taken into consideration.

The 1744 Lenten season at Covent Garden, for which a subscription series was introduced, had also been successful. Between 10 February and 21 March another twelve oratorio performances were given. Semele and Joseph and his Brethren were performed four times each, and Samson and Saul both received two performances. On 10 March 1744, Mrs Delany wrote that the 'oratorios fill very well, notwithstanding the spite of the Opera Party'.¹³

Encouraged by this good support, Handel now made the mistake of expanding his next oratorio season, not just in Lent, but from the autumn of 1744 until the spring of 1745. Again he proposed a subscription series. On 20 October 1744, The Daily Advertiser announced:

Mr Handel proposes to perform by Subscription,
Twenty-Four Times, during the Winter Season, at

the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, and engages to exhibit two new Performances, and several of his former Oratorios. ... Each Subscriber is to pay Eight Guineas at the Time he subscribes, which entitles him to one Box Ticket for each Performance.

The 1744-5 season seems to have gone badly from the start. Deborah was performed to a small audience on 3 November 1744. 'The Greater Part of Handel's subscribers were not in Town', as The Daily Advertiser of 5 November 1744 recorded. Semele was performed with 'additions and alterations', presumably in the hope of attracting more customers. In January, Hercules received such a poor response that Handel had to abandon his subscription series. He explained in a notice in The Daily Advertiser of 17 January 1745 that 'my labours to please are become ineffectual, when my Expences (sic) are considerably greater.' He begged his subscribers' permission 'to stop short before my Losses are too great to support, if I proceed no farther in my Undertaking.'

In a letter to his friend Edward Holdsworth, Charles Jennens stated that 'Handel has had a worse success than ever he had before, being forc'd to disist after performing but 6 of the 24 Entertainments he had contracted for, & to advertise that the Subscribers might have 3 4ths of their money returned. Most of them refus'd to take back their Money, upon which he resolv'd to begin again in Lent.'¹⁴

In the Lenten season of 1745 Handel revived Samson, then Saul, as well as Joseph and his Brethren. These were

followed by the new oratorio Belshazzar. Bad luck dogged Handel again. Mrs Cibber was ill and the cast had to be changed at the last minute. The operatic fraternity, led by a Lady Brown, were extremely hostile to Handel and his oratorios, and they did their best to sabotage his subscription series. No doubt the political situation, with rumours of a Jacobite invasion, did not encourage patrons to spend money on attending the oratorios. Even the weather turned against him.¹⁵ Messiah was tried again, but after giving sixteen of the proposed twenty-four oratorio concerts, Handel finally abandoned his new subscription project. He had overstretched himself financially.

Physical problems, too, had been causing Handel concern for some time. Since 1737 he had suffered from a muscular disorder, perhaps some kind of arthritis, or a peripheral neuropathy. It is also possible that he suffered from saturnine gout, induced by lead poisoning. The 1703 Treaty of Methuen opened England to the importation of fortified wines from Portugal: these ports and madeiras, in contrast to their modern equivalents, had a high lead content, presumably from the piping reinforced with lead that was used in distilling the brandy with which they were fortified. It can be surmised from a note in his own writing that Handel drank port in London, and it is significant that when he stayed at continental spas he soon recovered. There he would probably have drunk the local vintage, not fortified wines. A return to England, and the resumption of his previous drinking habits, would have brought on the old trouble. The mental disorder it was said he suffered from

is more difficult to diagnose. It was probably a secondary response to his physical disability, since there was no history of mental illness in his family.¹⁶

So Handel was in a precarious situation in 1745. In the summer he took himself off to Rutland, where he was the guest of the Earl of Gainsborough at Exton. Here the Earl and his brother, James Noel, were involved in a private performance in the Exton grounds of Thomas Arne's setting of Milton's Comus. The text of this had originally been prepared for the Drury Lane stage in 1738 by John Dalton. Handel was persuaded to produce some extra pieces for the Exton production using Milton's words, but not the Dalton libretto.

Following a visit to Scarborough, Handel returned to London in the autumn of 1745. From the evidence of a subsequent footnote to the Judas Maccabaeus libretto, as printed in its original word-book and quoted on page 17 below, it seems he had already received and read through the text for this oratorio, but he had not yet set it. Instead he hurriedly put together the Occasional Oratorio. As well as original music and other items from various sources, Handel used four pieces from his Exton Comus music for his latest work.¹⁷

At the end of 1745 he must have viewed his next season with some dismay. But a further stimulus came from another composer. The young Gluck's opera, La Caduta de' Giganti (The Fall of the Giants) was performed at the King's Theatre on 7 January 1746. As Burney records, 'it was produced before the Duke of Cumberland, in compliment to whom the whole

work was written and composed.'¹⁸ But Handel was not a man to be upstaged in his loyalty to the Hanoverian cause by Gluck and his sponsors.

On 31 January 1746, The General Advertiser came out with the news that:

We hear, that Mr Handel proposes some Musical Entertainment on Wednesdays or Fridays the ensuing Lent, with Intent to make good to the Subscribers (that favoured him last season) the Number of Performances he was not able to complete in order thereto he is preparing a New Occasional Oratorio, which is design'd to be perform'd at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden.

The 'New' Occasional Oratorio was given the first of its three well-received performances that season on 14 February 1746.

As well as wanting to support the Hanoverian cause, Handel knew he had a debt to his subscribers, even though he may have felt they had deserted him after the failure of the previous season. Through presenting the Occasional Oratorio Handel supported the Hanoverians with propaganda in that work. He repaid his debt to last season's subscribers and he decided to abandon the principle of the subscription series. Above all, he began rebuilding a future relationship with his patrons. The Occasional Oratorio proved to be the watershed between the failures of the 1744-5 season and the tremendous box-office success enjoyed by Judas Maccabaeus.

Thomas Morell (1703-1784), Librettist of Judas Maccabaeus

Whilst Newburgh Hamilton had supplied the libretto for the Occasional Oratorio, it was to Thomas Morell that Handel turned for the text of Judas Maccabaeus. Until fairly recently, no explanation has been given why Charles Jennens, after a mainly successful run as Handel's oratorio librettist, was not invited to supply the libretto for the 'victory' oratorios of 1746 and 1747.¹⁹ The two men remained on good terms, and Jennens was a beneficiary of Handel's Will. However, Jennens was a Non-juror; it is doubtful if he would have been willing to write in support of the Hanoverian cause. So Thomas Morell, having no such inhibitions, joined Handel in writing a patriotic piece.

Thomas Morell was born at Eton on 18 March 1703 and given the same Christian name as his father. His mother, after her husband's death, kept a boarding house at Eton to support her family. Thomas was admitted to the school there in 1715, and subsequently, on 3 August 1722, he was elected to King's College, Cambridge. On 19 September 1725, when still an undergraduate, Morell was ordained a Deacon of the Church of England in Buckden Parish Church by the Bishop of Lincoln, Richard Reynolds,²⁰ whilst the latter was residing in his Palace at Buckden, Huntingdon. Morell graduated B.A. at Cambridge in 1726, and M.A. in 1730. In about 1729 he was appointed Sub-Curate of St Anne's Chapel, Kew, Surrey, then part of the parish of Kingston; but difficulties with the Vicar of Kingston ensued.²¹ On 20 March 1737, his Cambridge college, having elected him a Fellow, instituted Morell to the Living of Rector of

Buckland, Hertfordshire,²² but there is little evidence that he took much interest in his responsibilities there. On 20 October 1737 he became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1742 he preached the University sermon at Cambridge; and in 1743 his university awarded him the degree of Doctor of Divinity per saltum.²³ Eventually, in 1768, he became a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Morell resided for much of his life at Turnham Green, Middlesex, where the artistic community included James Thomson, Hogarth and Garrick. John Nichols (1745-1826), the printer who for many years edited The Gentleman's Magazine, wrote of Morell in his Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century (published between 1812-16) that 'he was warm in his attachments, and was a cheerful and entertaining companion. He loved a jest, told a good story, was fond of musick, and would occasionally indulge his friends with a song. In his external appearances, however, he never condescended to study the Graces; and unfortunately for himself was a total stranger to oeconomy.' Nichols maintained that by keeping low company, especially of the 'musical tribe', and writing their operas and mixing with them, Morell let himself down, so as not to be taken notice of on the road to preferment. He was a good tempered man, but he was always in debt and needy.²⁴ At the time of writing Judas Maccabaeus Morell was probably feeling very impecunious.

An example of Morell's wit and poetical style can be seen in The Curatical Battle for Q. Chappel, a satire in verse on the rivalry between Stephen Duck and himself over the preferment for Kew Chapel.²⁵ But it was as a

classical scholar that he achieved distinction. Beside a great number of works on religious subjects, he published his Thesaurus Graecae Poeseos in 1762; he also published revised and corrected editions of Hederich's Greek Lexicon in 1766, ' Prometheus Vincetus' of Aeschylus in 1767, and Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary in 1773. His portrait, painted and engraved by Hogarth is prefixed to his Thesaurus Graecae Poeseos.²⁶ David Garrick regarded his scholarship highly.²⁷ He was in demand as a preacher: he delivered a sermon in Worcester Cathedral at the Meeting of the Three Choirs in 1747, and later, for several years, gave the Fairchild Botanical Sermon at St Leonard's, Shoreditch.

An undated letter from Thomas Morell to an unknown recipient, written about 1769,²⁸ provides valuable information about a number of matters concerning his dealings with Handel, some involving Judas Maccabaeus. It begins with Morell giving an apologetic explanation of his achievements as a librettist. He quotes Addison's remark that 'nothing was capable of being well set to musick that was not nonsense.' He then goes on to explain that he has had to submit to alterations to his text by a composer 'of an haughty disposition, ... (having) an imperfect acquaintance with the English language.'

The letter continues with an explanation of how Morell was invited to become Handel's librettist:

Mr Handel applied to me, when at Kew, in 1746, and added to his request the honour of a recommendation from Prince Frederic.²⁹

The next sentence reveals Morell's confidence in himself, and his opinion of the work of other librettists, his speed of working, and Handel's reception of the initial draft of Part 1 of the text of Judas Maccabaeus:

I thought I could do as well as some who had gone before me, and within 2 or 3 days carried him the first Act of Judas Maccabaeus, which he approved of. We learn of Handel's impetuosity for the text of Part Two when he was in a mood for composition. Morell records Handel's own suggestion that it should begin with 'Fallen is the Foe'. Clearly Handel was not prepared to allow Morell time to produce polished English to follow this: 'So fall thy Foes, O Lord' was good enough for him.

There follows another apologetic explanation of his librettos: this time about the work of others being superimposed in his libretto when items from other oratorios, without Morell's consent, were 'happily flung into Judas Maccabaeus.' The letter then explains that the plan of Judas Maccabaeus was 'designed as a compliment to the Duke of Cumberland, upon his returning victorious from Scotland'; that cuts were made in the original libretto because, if included, 'it was thought they would make it (i.e. the oratorio) too long'; that the Duke made Morell a handsome present for his dedicated libretto; and that the success of Judas Maccabaeus was 'very great'. Details about Theodora follow, including Handel's view that Jews were not likely to support it, as they had supported Judas Maccabaeus, because Theodora was a Christian story. Finally, Morell recorded that 'to oblige Mr Handell's

successor' he provided the libretto for two other oratorios: Nabal in 1764, and finally Gideon. The latter was first heard at Covent Garden on 10 February 1769, and this gives us an approximate date for the letter.

The Early Stages in the Composition of Judas Maccabaeus

According to the autograph score, Handel began Judas Maccabaeus on either the 8th or the 9th July 1746.³⁰ Before the overture, on the right-hand side and above the staves at the beginning of the work, he wrote 'Anfangen/den 9 July 8 (Tuesday) 1746/od den 8 9 (Wednesday) /dieses'. But in spite of this, there is evidence that Handel had read the libretto and used part of it ('O Liberty') for one movement of the Occasional Oratorio. This evidence is to be found in the original printed word-book of Judas Maccabaeus,³¹ on page 5 of which there is an asterisk after the air, 'Come ever-smiling Liberty', indicating a footnote by Morell which states:

The following Air was design'd, and wrote, for this Place, but it got, I know not how, into the Occasional Oratorio, and was there incomparably Set, and as finely executed.

O Liberty, thou choicest Treasure, ...

Since this air 'got into the Occasional Oratorio' by its first performance on 14 February 1746, but 'was designed for this Place' (in Judas Maccabaeus), it follows that Morell had given Handel the text of Judas Maccabaeus, before the composer set the Occasional Oratorio. This obviously occurred when the Jacobite Rebellion was in a

comparatively early stage. The autograph score of the Occasional Oratorio is not precisely dated, but in order to get that oratorio performed in February 1746, Handel must have been setting the words, at the latest, by January or early in February. Newburgh Hamilton's libretto for the Occasional Oratorio may even have been written by the end of 1745. The Occasional Oratorio was put together in a great hurry and Handel decided that it was not appropriate to 'design' Judas Maccabaeus simultaneously. So the latter was shelved. The dating on the autograph score of Judas Maccabaeus, therefore, indicates when Handel began working on that score, not when he started to 'design' the oratorio.

The 1746 oratorio season at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden consisted entirely of performances of the Occasional Oratorio. Its third and last performance that season was on 26 February. When the news of the Culloden victory reached London in April, Handel must have decided that it was time for another patriotic oratorio: one to celebrate the Duke of Cumberland's success, rather than one to give him encouragement to win. The time for Judas Maccabaeus had now come.

CHAPTER 1.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See Moore, The Works of Tobias Smollett, M.D. vol.1, pp. 221-3. However, Whitworth in William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, pp. 1,2, 88, argues that Cumberland was unfairly dubbed 'Butcher' by Jacobites, and that he and his men were merely carrying out orders by politicians such as Newcastle, Chesterfield and Hardwicke.
2. Dictionary of National Biography, 1917, vol. XXI, p.342.
3. The London Stage, part 3, vol.2, p.1236.
4. Op.cit., pp.1237 and 1238.
5. The copy submitted to the Inspector of Stage Plays is in the Huntington Library, USA, LA.59. Attached to it, on a separate sheet of paper, there is the title, 'Prologue, In Honour of the Duke of Cumberland & his Glorious Victory over the Rebels'. This is followed by the statement, 'Sir, Mr Lacy has given me leave to speak this prologue for my Benefit tomorrow if it meets with y^r Approbation from/ Y^r oblig'd serv^t. R.Cross.' See also The London Stage, op.cit., pp.1238-9.
6. Bishops had a role to play at several levels. In their own diocese they could influence their cathedral chapters and their diocesan clergy, thereby playing an important part in the local parliamentary elections. Many of the higher clergy were gifted writers, so political propaganda came easily to them. Edmund Gibson, sometimes referred to as 'Walpole's Pope',

was the Bishop of London and, for sixteen years, Walpole's lieutenant for Church affairs. He was determined that promotion should be given only to men who were absolutely devoted to the administration. Every bishop's appointment was so closely scrutinized that Walpole could rely on twenty-four of the possible twenty-six bishop's votes in the House of Lords, usually sufficient to ensure him a majority. See Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole, pp.68-69.

7. See Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation, pp. 13-14.
8. On 12 February 1743 The Daily Advertiser announced that each subscriber was to pay six guineas upon taking out his subscription ticket. For that, he would be entitled to three Box tickets every night of Handel's first six performances in Lent. If any additional performances were arranged, each subscriber could continue on the same conditions. Single tickets could still be bought. These were priced at 10s 6d for pit and boxes, 5s 0d for the first gallery and 3s 6d for the second gallery. The new arrangements were modelled on those of Handel's Dublin concert series of 1741-2.
9. See Deutsch, Handel, p.561.
10. See Deutsch, op.cit., p.562.
11. The Daily Advertiser, 12 March 1743.
12. Dean, The New Grove, Handel, p.55.
13. See Deutsch, op.cit., p.587.
14. Letters dated 3 February and 3 March 1746; now in the Coke Handel Collection, having been purchased by the late

- Gerald Coke. See Christie's Sale Catalogue of 4 July 1973.
15. The announcement in The Daily Advertiser on 1 March 1745 that Samson was to be given at the King's Theatre, assured patrons that 'Proper Care will be taken to keep the House warm'.
16. See Frosch, 'The "Case" of George Frideric Handel', The New England Journal of Medicine, 14 September 1989. Vol. 321, No. 11, pp. 765-769.
17. See Channon, Handel's Occasional Oratorio (M.A. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1984), pp. 106, 108, 112. Also Hicks, The Musical Times, cxvii (1976), pp. 28-29. That article followed Handel: Music for Comus, ed C. Timms and A. Hicks (London, Acca Music, 1977). The source for this is 'Serenata a:9'. A manuscript copy of it, made for Charles Jennens, is now in the Aylesford Collection, Manchester Public Library, MS 130 Hd v. 300.
18. Burney, A General History of Music, book iv, p. 844.
19. See Smith, 'The Achievements of Charles Jennens (1700-1773)', Music and Letters, Vol. 70, No. 2, May 1989, pp. 161-190.
20. Lincolnshire Archives Office, Bishops Register 38, p. 103.
21. The Vicar of Kingston apparently took all the emoluments of Kew Chapel and paid the curate, Dr Lewis, only £30 per annum. When Lewis ceased to perform his duties in 1733, no curate was appointed, but Morell continued to serve the Chapel. In 1738 he married Ann, daughter of Henry Baker of the Grove House, at Kew: but there were no children of the marriage. When Lewis died in 1741 the Vicar, William Comer, sought to take the curacy upon

himself. A legal wrangle followed, and eventually the Vicar appointed a friend of his, the Rev'd Robert Bluet who lived in Devonshire, to be, nominally, the curate at Kew. Morell continued to perform the clerical duties there until, dissatisfied with his salary, he complained to Comer who immediately dismissed him. However, Morell was fond of Kew and he continued to attend Vestry Meetings until after another curate was appointed. See Cassidy, The Chapel of St Anne, Kew Green, 1710-1769, Richmond Historical Society Historical Section Paper No.2, Richmond, 1985, pp.26-32.

22. The Provost, Fellows and Scholars of King's College, Cambridge acquired the advowson of the Rectory of Buckland in 1702. Morell was the fourth incumbent appointed by the college. He succeeded Adam Batty, Rector since 1732. Morell remained Rector there until his death at Scarborough on 19 February 1784. He was buried at Chiswick and was succeeded at Buckland by Pell Akehurst, who was instituted on 30 July 1784. See Cussans, History of Hertfordshire, 'Hundred of Edwinstree', pp.52-54; and Foster, Alumni Oxonienses 1715-1886, p.985.

23. Not having taken the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, Morell, who by then would have been an M.A. of twelve years standing, proceeded to his doctorate per saltum. See Winstanley, Unreformed Cambridge, A Study of Certain Aspects of the University in the Eighteenth Century, pp.72-74. The date of the sermon he preached to Cambridge University and some other details about

- Morell are recorded in a manuscript by Anthony Allen in his Skeletons of King's College, Cambridge, now in King's College, Cambridge Modern Archives, iv.247-9. (I owe the Allen manuscript reference to Ruth Smith.) The sermon was doubtless part of the exercise leading to the award of the doctorate. See Winstanley, *ibid*.
- In addition to his Cambridge degrees, Morell was awarded an M.A. ad eundem (i.e. 'by incorporation') at Oxford University on 6 July 1733. He was re-incorporated D.D. there on 28 June 1759. See Foster, *op.cit.*, p.985.
24. See Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, vol.1, pp.651-656 and vol.ix, p.789.
25. There is a copy in the Huntington Library, San Marino, U.S.A., No.315993. Stephen Duck (1705-1756) who was largely self-educated, became rector of Byfleet in 1752. At one time he was librarian to Queen Caroline. See Dobrée, English Literature in the Early Eighteenth Century, p.25n.
26. See Cussans, History of Hertfordshire pp.52-54.
- There is a legend that Dr Morell once entered the school room at Winchester College in which some junior boys were writing their exercises, one of whom, struck no less with his air and manner than with the questions he put to them, whispered to his schoolfellows, "Is he not a fine old Grecian?" The Doctor, overhearing this, turned hastily round and exclaimed, "I am indeed an old Grecian, my little man. Did you never see my head before my Thesaurus?" See Wooll's Life of Dr Warton.
- I am indebted to Canon David Isitt who drew my attention

to this reference.

27. See Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. G.B.Hill, vol. 5, p.350. In a letter to James Boswell dated 14 September 1773, David Garrick wrote: 'Shall I recommend to you a play of Aeschylus (the Prometheus) published and translated by poor old Morell, who is a good scholar, and an acquaintance of mine?'.
28. See Hodgkin MSS., Historical MSS. Commission, Report XV, Appendix 2. The letter is printed in Deutsch, Handel, pp. 851-853.
29. The Prince of Wales, it appears, was fond of his younger brother. After the battle of Dettingen in 1743 he had the Duke's portrait painted and hung in Leicester House, his London home (see Whitworth, William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, p.46, illustration 3). In 1745, after the battle of Culloden, Cumberland was touched by a message from Frederick expressing his satisfaction for his brother's safe deliverance (see Whitworth, *op.cit.*, p.50).
30. Handel dated his completion of the first part of the oratorio on f.56v., having originally failed to note the date of its commencement. It is possible that as he began, he could not remember the day or the date. But it is more likely that having reached f.56v., he wished to record the day he began on f.1, but was unable to remember which of these two days was accurate. Handel often used astrological signs to indicate days of the week.
31. Copies are in the British Library, CUP 407.KK 26, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, VS 892.

Chapter 2.

THE LIBRETTO:

ITS CONSTRUCTION AND EVOLUTION UNTIL THE FIRST PERFORMANCE

Introduction

Having initially put Judas Maccabaeus aside in favour of the Occasional Oratorio, Handel was galvanised into setting Morell's libretto of Judas Maccabaeus later in 1746 by the Culloden victory and the news of the plan to dedicate Gluck's oratorio, La Caduta de' Giganti to the Duke of Cumberland.

The evolution of the libretto, up to the form as it stood at the time of the first performance of the oratorio on Wednesday 1 April 1747, will now be considered.

The Choice of the Subject Matter

At the beginning of the 1745 Rebellion, Handel and Morell must have wondered what subject would be appropriate for the next oratorio. Then, in November 1745, the Duke of Cumberland was appointed by the King to command the Southern army to stop the rebels as they marched on from Carlisle to London.¹ Possibly it was about this time that the idea of using the Apocryphal story of Judas Maccabaeus occurred to either composer or librettist. That story is of an heroic struggle by a favourite son in an attempt to gain both liberty and freedom from religious persecution for his nation. The analogy with Cumberland was obvious. Only when it was clear that the Duke would not accomplish his task in time for the 1746 Lenten Oratorio season was the Occasional

Oratorio hurriedly produced. After Culloden the choice of the Maccabean story proved to have been most appropriate. So successful was it that Morell based his libretto on succeeding events in Maccabean history for Alexander Balus of 1748, Handel's next Victory Oratorio.

Judas Maccabaeus: the Historical Background

The Maccabean Revolt in the second century B.C. provided the background to the story unfolded in Judas Maccabaeus. This event is part of the history of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Empires, and it occurred in what is now known as the Hellenistic Period. These empires existed as a result of the conquests made by Alexander the Great.

Following Alexander's death at Babylon in 323 B.C., his empire disintegrated. When his own descendants were unable to succeed him effectively, his kingdom went to his Generals. Two of these whose dynasties effected the history of Israel were Ptolemy, who assumed the kingship of Egypt, and Seleucus, who established himself first as master of Babylonia, and later of the northern part of Syria, where he made Antioch his capital.

Palestine initially remained under Ptolomy of Egypt, but by 198 B.C., in the reign of Antiochus the Great, Palestine was finally conquered. Under Antiochus the Jews were favourably treated. But later under his successor, Antiochus IV ('Epiphanes'²), the Jewish people suffered great hardship.³ This was because Antiochus Epiphanes sought to impose both a common Greek culture and its religion (Hellenism) throughout his empire, as Alexander

the Great had tried to do. This led to the Maccabean rebellion under Mattathias and his sons.⁴ Of these, three sons - Judas, Jonathan and Simon - became known as the Hasmonean rulers, so called after Hasmon their ancestor. The following chart⁵ outlines the sequence of the Ptolemaic, Seleucid and Hasmonean Dynasties from B.C.323 - B.C.142.

DATES B.C.	PTOLEMAIC	SELEUCID	HASMONEAN
323	Ptolemy I		
312		Seleucus I, - king of Babylon	
301		Seleucus I also - king of Antioch	
285	Ptolemy II		
280		Antiochus I	
261		Antiochus II	
247		Seleucus II	
246	Ptolemy III		
226		Seleucus III	
223		Antiochus III (the Great)	
221	Ptolemy IV		
203	Ptolemy V		
187		Seleucus IV	
181	Ptolemy VI		
175		Antiochus IV (Epiphanes)	
166			Judas Maccabaeus

DATES B.C.	PTOLEMAIC	SELEUCID	HASMONEAN
163		Antiochus V	
162		Demetrius I	
160			Jonathan
150		Alexander Balus	
145	Ptolemy VII	Demetrius II	
142			Simon

Sources of the Libretto

To produce the libretto, Morell derived his information from Chapters 1 - 8 of the first book of Maccabees, in the Apocrypha.⁶ He also used additional material from Book 12, Chapters 6 -10 of Flavius Josephus's Antiquitates Judaicae - The Antiquities of the Jews.⁷ Significantly, William Whiston (1667 - 1752) had produced his English translation of The Works of Josephus in 1736.⁸

Although it is not clear from whom the idea of using Judas as the basis of an oratorio came, it could well have been from Thomas Morell himself. With his scholarly interests, he would certainly have known of these books, and he could hardly have failed to realise the relevance of the Maccabean story for his own time. On the other hand it is just possible that Handel may have come across settings of this story when he was in Italy. Howard Smither has pointed out that stories from the Maccabees were seldom used on the Continent, but that some settings were made.⁹ Two extant libretti are in the Biblioteca Corsiniana of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana in Rome. The earliest dates from 1695.¹⁰ Its title page reads:

JUDAS/MACHABAEUS./ MELODRAMMA/ In Sacello
Archiconfraternitatis/SS. CRUCIFIXI/Feria VI. post
Dominicam secundam/ Quadragesime,/ Sub armonica
directione/GREGORII COLAE ROMANI/Audiendum./ ANNO
DOMINI MDCXCV./ ROMAE,/ Ex typographia Joannis
Francisci Buagni, 1695./ SUPERIORUM PERMISSU.

The second libretto dates from 1704.¹¹ Its title page reads:

MATER/ MACHABAEORUM/ MELODRAMA/ F.L./ Canendum/ In
Sacello Archiconfraternitas/SANCTISSIMI/CRUCIFIXI/
Anno Salutis MDCCIV./Musicus aptatum Concentibus/ A
FORIANO ARESTI/ Bononiensi./ ROMAE, Typis Io:
Francisci Buagni. MDCCIV./ Superiorum Facultate.

Whilst Morell used material from I Maccabees, both these settings are derived from II Maccabees. The first setting is from II Maccabees 14, whilst the second is based on II Maccabees 7. Both deal with different stages in the Maccabean history to that selected by Morell.

Again, the dramatic structure and characterisation in these Latin texts is different to that used by Morell in Judas Maccabaeus. In the first there are five characters: Judas Machabaeus, Simon ejus Frater, Nicanor Dux Syrorum, Alcimus, olim Sacerdos and Jeremias, as well as a Chorus Militum. In the second setting there are Four 'Actores': Mater Machabeorum, Filius, Antiochus (Rex Syriae), and Nicanor (Consiliarius). Both librettos are in two Parts.

It has been shown by Duncan Chisholm that Miller's text for Handel's Joseph and his Brethren was influenced in its

construction by that provided by Apostolo Zena for Caldara's Giuseppe.¹² But having examined the librettos for the two Italian 'Judas' settings, I have been unable to trace any influence of them on Morell's text. It must be a matter of conjecture whether or not these continental settings were known to either Handel or Morell.

It is noticeable that in the version of the story told in The Antiquities of the Jews, the translation has such expressions as 'the liberty of worshipping God', 'liberty of your country, of your laws, of your religion' and 'this victory contributed to the recovery of their liberty',¹³ all of which fitted in well with eighteenth-century Whig ideals. Josephus also explains that, as a result of Judas restoring the temple worship, a festival was in future celebrated and it was called 'Lights'.¹⁴ There is no doubt that Morell was well acquainted with Josephus, as his use of material from the Antiquities in his libretto shows.

Synopsis of the Story in Morell's Libretto

In Part One, the Israelites, enduring the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Seleucid King of Syria, mourn the death of Mattathias. Simon, one of his sons, proclaims his brother, Judas Maccabaeus, as their new leader. In reply Judas promises to restore his nation's liberty from Syrian oppression. He forecasts victory and freedom for Israel under his leadership. He recalls other successes in war by their Jewish forefathers and he encourages his countrymen to face the enemy with courage. In turn the Israelites look forward to their liberty, calling upon the Almighty to hear

them, and support them in their forthcoming fight.

At the beginning of Part Two, Judas receives the acclaim of the Israelites having defeated the invaders both from Samaria, led by Apollonius, and also from Syria, under Seron. But then news arrives that King Antiochus Epiphanes has decided to dispatch an army from Egypt, under his General Gorgias, to destroy the Jewish nation. The Israelites are in despair, but not so Judas. He rouses his troops, whilst Simon restores the morale of the civilian Israelites by forecasting victory.

Part Three opens after victory has been won and the Temple has been regained. The Feast of Lights is to be celebrated. Morell's original libretto contained extra material at this point which was not included in the oratorio as composed.¹⁵ The next scene portrays the arrival of an Israelitish Messenger bearing the news of the rout of the invaders by Judas at Capharsalama, some five miles north of Jerusalem. More telescoping of events occurs in the libretto, enabling the hero himself to appear immediately on the scene. He enters in triumph and is greeted with acclamation. Then Eupolemus, the Israelite Ambassador, returns from a mission to Rome with a treaty ensuring protection for Judea as an independent nation. The story ends with the Israelites looking forward to peace and prosperity. In the final air and Hallelujah chorus, the Jews are exhorted to rejoice with the celestial spirits, Cherubim and Seraphim.

The two characters are Judas, the hero (by implication a biblical Duke of Cumberland, to whom the work

was dedicated) and Judas's brother, Simon. Other characters are an Israelitish Woman, an Israelitish Man, a Messenger, and Eupolemus, the Ambassador to Rome. The Israelites are represented by the chorus.

The earliest form of the libretto covers the period between the time that Morell delivered a complete text to Handel, probably late in 1745, and the first performance on 1 April 1747. The form of the Libretto as found in Handel's autograph score and the first stage of the conducting score differs in some detail from Morell's original.

The Larpent Manuscript of the Libretto

A manuscript copy of the Libretto signed by the composer, referred to in this thesis as the 'Larpent Manuscript' (or 'Larpent'), is now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.¹⁶ It is the submission made by Handel for permission to perform Judas Maccabaeus at Covent Garden on 1 April 1747. Following the passing of The Licensing Act of 1737 nothing could be performed in London theatres without the authority of the Inspector of Plays in the Lord Chamberlain's office.¹⁷ The Act required those responsible for performances to submit the text of what was to be performed not later than fourteen days beforehand.

The Larpent libretto of Judas Maccabaeus has the number '1766' on the second line. The reason for this is not clear. The calligraphy of the title and the date are in the same style; they would appear to have been written at the same time. It could be some later catalogue number, but the calligraphic evidence is against this. It seems unlikely,

too, that it was another submission made again in 1766, when the oratorio was given performances at Covent Garden on Friday 28 February and on Friday 14 March, the latter 'By Command of their Majesties'. By then, various changes had been made which are not incorporated into this document. The fact that Handel's signature is there also rules out that possibility. This is certainly the first submission, as can be seen by comparing it with the earliest published word-book. One plausible explanation is that the date was intended to be 1746, but by a slip the third figure was wrongly recorded.

The words in this manuscript were written by J.C.Smith the older; and they are on paper which has been roughly cut. Each page measures approximately 32 cms by 20 cms. The paper has one set of watermarkings showing eight vertical parallel lines. But the paper's principal watermark is of a lion standing on a podium marked 'Vryhet', holding a spear in its left paw and a bundle of seven darts in the other. Two crowned circles surround the emblem: within them is the Latin tag 'Pro Patria Ejusque Libertate'. The design was the Arms of the Seven Provinces of Amsterdam. This watermark was used by a number of Dutch paper manufacturers including the firm of B.Cramer, who had had mills in Holland since 1711.¹⁸ Within a blue mottled paper cover, there are nine unnumbered folios. Act One is written on the first three folios. Act Two occupies two and a half folios. Act Three occupies two folios. There are one and a half blank folios. On the first and eighth folios the Bridgewater Library stamp has been impressed. The

impression shows a coronet encircled by the words 'Bridgewater Library'. It is the stamp of the first Earl of Ellesmere in the Second Creation, who at one time owned the Larpent Collection. Written at an angle of ninety degrees on the versus side of the last page is 'Macchabaeus/ Oratorio/ 174⁶₇'. A cross, drawn casually, precedes the date. This might have signified that the Inspector of Stage Plays had approved the text.

The First Edition of the Word-book

No descriptive notes about the work, nor the names of the performers were published for the Covent Garden oratorios at this time. But it was customary for word-books to be printed and sold. That supplied for Judas Maccabaeus at the first performance in April 1747 was a copy of the complete text, approved by Morell and printed by John Watts. Later performances (until 1750, when a new edition was printed) used this '1747' book, supplied with correction and addenda slips, as will be shown later. The Original word-book comprised the following:

The title page. This reads:

JUDAS MACCHABAEUS./ A/ SACRED DRAMA./ As it is
Perform'd at the/ THEATRE-ROYAL in COVENT-GARDEN./
The MUSICK by Mr. HANDEL./LONDON:/ Printed for John
Watts: And Sold by B.Dod at the Bible and Key in Ave-
Mary Lane near Stationers-Hall./ MDCCXLVII./ [Price
One Shilling.]

On the next folio comes the following Dedication:

To His Royal Highness /Prince William, / Duke of
Cumberland, / This Faint Portraiture / Of A / Truly
Wise, Valiant, and Virtuous Commander, / As to the
Possessor of the like Noble Qualities, / Is, / with
most profound Respect and Veneration, / Inscribed, /
By His Royal Highness's / Most obedient, and most
devoted Servant, / The Author.

On the following recto is:

DRAMATIS PERSONAE./ JUDAS MACCHABAEUS.¹⁹/ SIMON, his
Brother./CHORUS of Israelitish Men and Women.

Then there are sixteen pages of libretto. Pages two to six are paginated, as are pages eight to twelve, and pages fourteen to sixteen. Acts One, Two and Three begin, respectively, on pages one, seven and thirteen: those pages are not paginated. The collation of the printed material may, therefore, be summarised by the conventional symbols:

tp/+; ded/ dram.per.; [1]/2-6/[7]-12/[13]-15/16.

For describing collations this style is used throughout this thesis.

Two examples of the first word-book published for the first performance on Wednesday 1 April 1747 are now extant. These are to be found in the British Library (CUP 407. KK.2) and in the Schoelcher Collection (VS 892) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Another copy of the same word-book is in the Birmingham Central Library (783.3, Oratorios E/1), but it has an accompanying slip which incorporates Handel's later revisions, and corrects mistakes in the word-book itself. This is the first issue to show textual corrections, and it confirms, therefore, that the two

uncorrected word-books mentioned above preceded it.

Variants in the Libretto, and the Relationships of the Sources

Various changes were made to the libretto between Morell's original text and the version that came to performance in the oratorio. This evolution can be traced in part from the primary sources as they exist today. Those sources that have only the verbal text have already been described above. Consideration must, however, also be given to the text as found in the relevant musical primary sources, the autograph and conducting scores, whose contents are described in detail in Appendix Chart 1, ITEMS IN THE PRIMARY SOURCES, on page A.35. Unfortunately those sources do not present us with the complete picture of the textual evolution from its conception until its first performance.

The form of the text as first set to music by Handel is that found in the autograph score. But Handel must have worked from a copy of the libretto, now lost, that Morell had supplied; it was probably written in the librettist's hand. We may surmise that, at an earlier stage still, Morell had his own drafting copy in which he may have revised his text. Morell's hypothetical original draft text I shall here designate 'M'. From this was presumably taken the copy which was given to Handel ('H'), and we may assume that, at that stage, Morell either made a further copy of it for his own record, or merely kept M for future reference. Morell's hypothetical working copy will be

referred to as 'M2'. We may assume that H and M2 were fundamentally identical in content at this stage, even if scribal errors caused them to differ in odd details, such as punctuation and spelling.

Handel undoubtedly made his own alterations, deletions and additions to H,²⁰ producing his own working copy ('H2'). This does not survive, but we can reconstruct at least one detail. From a footnote to page 14 of the first printed word-book, we know that Handel altered the text of the recitative, 'From Capharsalama' (66/57/AB), and that Morell knew of these alterations.²¹ Doubtless Morell would have amended M2, his copy of the libretto, to accommodate these changes. So at this stage M2(amended) and H2 would have been identical.

Later, during the process of composition, other changes were made by the composer which resulted in the text as it is now found in the autograph score: some were deliberate amendments and others may have been textual mistakes. One example of these variants can be seen in the opening chorus of Part 1, 'Mourn, ye afflicted children' (2/2/1). Line 4 in the autograph score reads 'Your Hero, Friend and Father is no more'. In the first printed word-book (P), for which Morell supplied the text, this appears as 'Your Father, Friend and Hero is no more', presumably derived from the amended M2 copy.

A further example can be seen in the recitative, 17/17/-. In the word-book, the text, presumably derived from M2, was first printed as:

Thy noble Views, O Judas, shall inspire
Our eager Souls with thy heroic Fire.

But in the autograph score, and the earliest form of the
conducting score, these lines appear as:

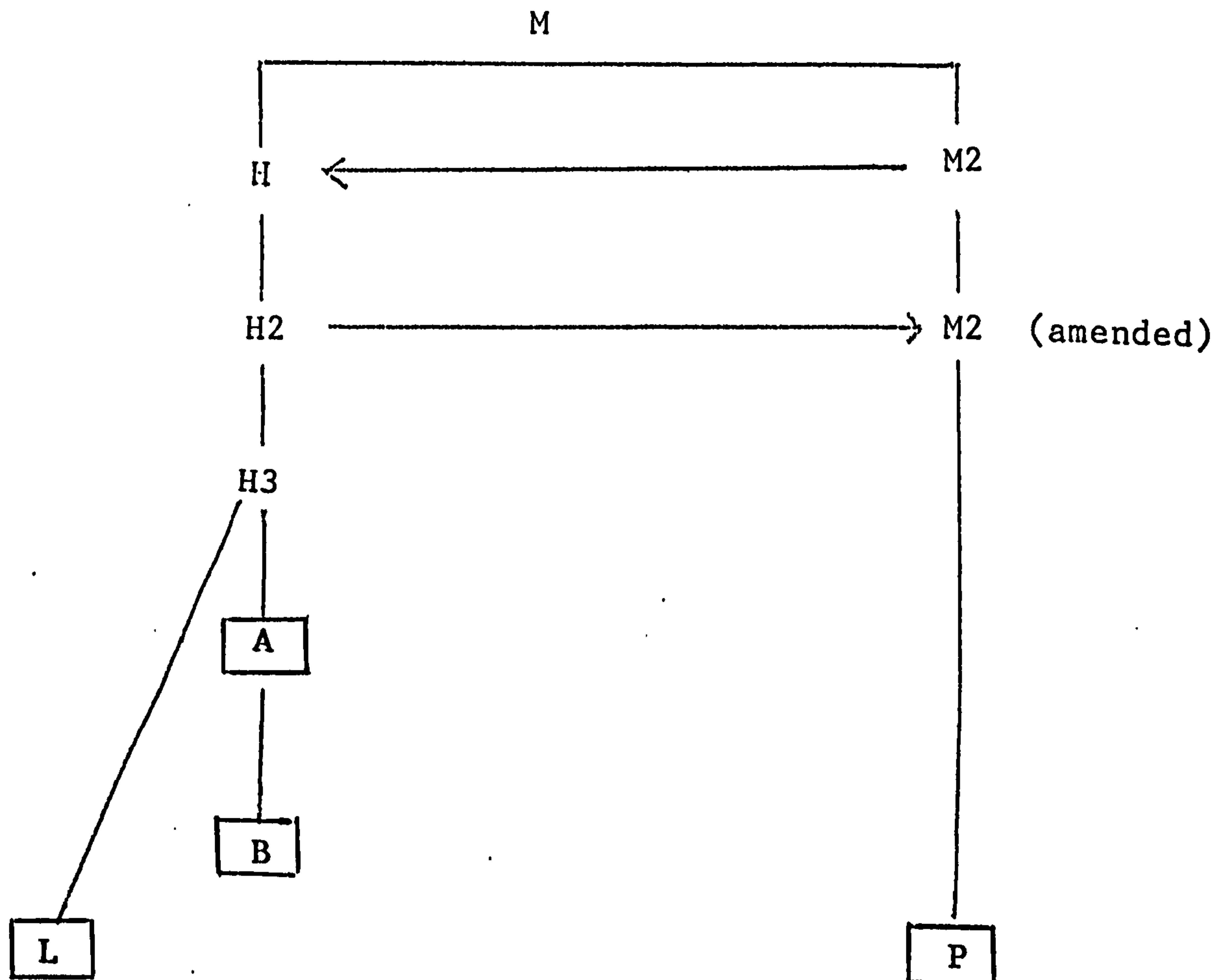
O Judas, may these noble views inspire
All Israel with thy true heroic Fire!

In making these changes to H2 the composer's working text
became 'H3', whereas Morell's text remained at the amended
M2 stage. It seems, therefore, that Morell was not informed
of Handel's final amendments.

From this point onwards it is possible to trace two
clear lines of descent in the early versions of the
libretto, distinguished by characteristic textual variants.
One line, derived from my hypothetical H, goes to the
autograph score (A) and to the conducting score (B) as
originally copied. The other, presumably derived from the
amended M2 copy, goes to the first edition of the word-book
(P).

The text of the Larpent manuscript is closer to the 'H'
line of descent than to M2. This can be seen in the
textual variants for the opening chorus of Part 1, already
quoted, and the following recitative, 'Well, Brethren'
(3/3/-). The Larpent manuscript includes the lines of text
which do not appear in A (see pages 63-64). So it would seem
that the copy written by J.C.Smith for the Inspector of
Stage Plays derived from H3, whereas Morell used his
amended M2 copy in supplying Watts and Dod with the libretto
for their first word-book of Judas Maccabaeus.

The following stemma shows the transmission of successive stages of the text of Judas Maccabaeus up to the time of the first performance. As explained above, the earliest sources in my conjecture are now lost; extant sources are identified within a box:



Collation of Textual Variants

In the following Collation, the text of each movement is reproduced from the first edition of the word-book. The form of the text as given in Larpent is then shown. In comparing these I have used the following conventions:
 agreement is indicated by '---' for specific lines;
 'etc' indicates no further variation.

Under 'Variants', the differences between the text as found in P, L, A and B are summarised.

2/2/1

P: P A R T I.

Chorus of *Israelites*, Men and Women, lamenting the Death
of *Mattathias*, Father of *Judas Macchabæus*.



OURN, ye afflicted Children, The Remains
Of captive Judah, mourn in solemn Strains;
Your sanguine Hopes of Liberty give o'er;
Your Father, Friend, and Hero is no more.

L: Act 1st

Grand Chorus-----

-----Judas.

Mourn -----

Your Hero, Friend, and Father is no more.

Variants:

Line 4: A and B have the same text as L; that in
P is erroneous.

3/3/-

P: R E C I T A T I V E.

Israelitish Man.

Well, Brethren, may your Sorrows flow
In all th' expressive Signs of Woe;
Your softer Garments tear,
And squalid Sackcloth wear;
Your drooping Heads with Ashes strew,
And with the flowing Tear your Checks bedew.

P: contd

R E C I T A T I V E.

Israelitish Woman.

Daughters, let your distressful Cries,
And loud Lament ascend the Skies;
Your tender Bosoms beat, and tear
With Hands remorseless your dishevell'd Hair.
For pale and breathless *Mattathias* lies:
Sad Emblem of his Country's Miseries!

L: Israelit man* Recit:
Well may your Sorrows, Brethren flow
etc.

Israelit woman* Recit:

---- Snowy Bosoms beat, -----
etc.

Variants:

Line 1: 'Well, Brethren, may your Sorrows flow'
in P.

A and B have 'Well may your Sorrows,
Brethren, flow', as in L.

Line 9: 'Your tender Bosoms beat,' in P.

A and B have 'Your snowy Bosoms beat,'
as in L.

* As in A and B.

4/4/2

P:

D U E T T.

*From this dread Scene, these adverse Pow'rs,
Ah! whither shall we fly?
O Solyma, thy boasted Tow'rs
In smoky Ruins lie.
Ah whither shall we fly?*

L:

Duett.

And Sion holy Sion Seat of God
In dusty Heaps is by the Heathen Trod;

Comment:

Lines 5 and 6 in L were not set to music, and do not occur in A or B. Presumably they were deleted by Handel in his working text.

8/8/5

P:

C H O R U S.

*O Father, whose almighty Pow'r
The Heav'ns, and Earth, and Seas adore!
The Hearts of Judah, thy Delight,
In one defensive Band unite.
Grant us a Leader bold, and brave,
If not to conquer, born to save.*

L:

And grant a Leader bold and brave
-----born to save.

Variants :

Line 5: 'Grant us a Leader bold, and brave,' in P,
in error.

A and B have 'And grant a Leader bold and
brave', as in L.

Line 6: Originally Handel wrote 'doomed to save' at the
end of the fugue subject in A. Later he
corrected it to 'born to save'.

14/14/-

P:

R E C I T A T I V E.

Israelitish Woman.

To Heav'n's almighty King we kneel,
For Blessings on this exemplary Zeal.
Bless him, *Jehovah*, bless him, and once more
To thine own *Israel* Liberty restore.

L:

Israelite (sic) Woman Recit.

-----Immortal King----- etc.

Variants:

Line 1: 'almighty king' in P, in error.

A and B have 'Immortal King', as in L.

15/15/9

P: Footnote to Text,

* The following Air was design'd, and wrote, for this Place, but it got, I know not how, into the *Occasional Oratorio*, and was there incomparably Set, and as finely executed,

*O Liberty, thou choicest Treasure,
Seat of Virtue, Source of Pleasure;
Life without thee knows no Blessing,
No Endearment worth caring.*

L: Not present

Comment:

This remark appears as a footnote on p.5 of P. The air, 'O Liberty' was omitted in L. Presumably Handel deleted the air in his working text of Judas Maccabaeus, having already used it in the Occasional Oratorio.

17/17/-

P: R E C I T A T I V E.

Israelitish Man.

These noble Views, O *Judas*, shall inspire
Our eager Souls with *thy* heroic Fire.

L:

Israelit. Man *

O Judas, may these noble views inspire
All Israel with thy true heroic Fire!

* As in B; A has 'Israelitish Man', as in P.

Variants:

A and B have the versions in L. The text was published wrongly in P.

19/19/12

P: Not included

L: Duett

Come ever-smiling Liberty &c.

Variants:

Only the above comment is written in L. This item was ignored in P, possibly because the complete text had been given in the solo version in item 16/16/10.

Comment:

It will be seen later that the duet version was given at the first performance of Judas Maccabaeus, as well as the air. The omission of the duet in P would seem to be the result of slipshod editing. Alternatively, perhaps Morell objected to this additional setting of his original text.

21/21/14

R E C I T A T I V E.

P:

Judas.

So will'd my zealous Father, now at rest,
In the eternal Mansions of the Blest;

" Can ye behold, said he, the Miseries

" In which the long-insulted *Judah* lies?

" Can ye behold their dire Distress,

" And not, at least, attempt Redress? ---

Then faintly, with expiring Breath ---

" Resolve, my Sons, on Liberty, or Death.

-/-/-

R E C I T A T I V E *accompany'd.*

We come; Oh see, thy Sons prepare
The rough Habiliments of War;
With Hearts intrepid, and revengeful Hands,
To execute, O Sire, thy dread Commands.

*

L: Judas Macch: Recit
-----my Father-----

-----Misteries

-----Sore Distress
 etc.

-/-/- Recit: accomp:
We come, we come Oh see, -----
 etc.

Variants:

Line 1: A and B have 'my father', as in L.

'Zealous' in P was an error.

Line 3: A and B have 'Miseries', as in P.

'Misteries' in L was an error.

Line 9: A and B have 'We come, we come' as in L.,

but this was shortened to 'We come' in P.

Comment: This omission might have been made by the printers
to improve the textual layout.

32/26/17

C H O R U S.

P:

*Hear us, O Lord, on Thee thy Servants call,
Resolv'd on Conquest, or a glorious Fall.*

* A and B have 'Judas', as in P.

L: Grand Chorus

-----we call

Variants:

Line 1: A and B have 'we call', as in L,
'thy servants call' in P was erroneous.

Comment:

There are no title descriptions in A and B.
Presumably Handel disliked the title 'Grand
Chorus', as in L. Even 'Chorus' does not appear
in A and B.

33/27/18

P: P: P A R T II.

C H O R U S.



*AL'N is the Foe.----So fall thy Foes, O Lord,
Where warlike Judas wields his righteous Sword.*

L:

Act 2.

Chorus

-----So fall'n-----

Variants ;

Line 1: B has 'fall', as in P.
A and B have 'fall'n', as in L.

Comment:

In B, 'fall'n' was originally copied on both the
soprano and bass staves, the other two chorus
parts having no words to their notes. Then in

both cases the 'n' was blocked out, converting the word to 'fall'. Later in the chorus, only 'fall' was used. We know from Morell that Handel insisted in having these words immediately he received the text for Part 1, and that he was responsible for the form of the text of this item as it appeared in A and L. Both forms were used in B: no doubt the change was made on practical grounds to suit the singers. In an Allegro tempo, placed on a strong accent, 'fall (thy foes, O Lord)' would have been far easier to articulate. Within the context of the story, 'fall'n' is literally accurate. In fact, line 1 of P is nonsense.

45/37/-

P:

RECITATIVE.

Judas!

Thanks to my Brethren,--- But look up to Heav'n;
To Heav'n let Glory, and all Praise be giv'n;
To Heav'n give your Applause,
Nor add *the second Cause*,
As once your Fathers did in *Midian*,
Saying, *The Sword of God and Gideon*.
It is the Lord, who for his *Israel* fought,
And this our wonderful Salvation wrought.

L: Judas Macch: Recit

As erst -----

It was the Lord, that for-----

Variants:

Line 5: A and B have 'As erst', as in L.

'As once' in P, wrongly. Presumably
this was an attempt to explain the meaning
of 'erst'.

Line 7: A and B have 'It was the Lord, that for', as in
L.

46/38/23

P:

A I R.

*How vain is Man, who boasts in Fight,
The Valour of Gigantic Might;
And dreams not that a Hand unseen
Guides and directs this weak Machine!*

L:

Air

Directs and guides -----

Variants :

line 4: 'Guides and directs' in P, erroneously.

A and B have 'Directs and guides' as in L.

51/39/-

P:

R E C I T A T I V E.

Israelitish Messenger.

O *Judas*, O my Brethren!
New Scenes of bloody War
In all their Horrors rise.
Prepare, prepare,
Or soon we fall a Sacrifice
To great *Antiochus*; from th' *Egyptian* Coast;
(Where *Ptolomy* hath *Memphis* and *Pelusium* lost,)
He sends the valiant *Gorgias*, and commands
His proud victorious Bands
To root out *Israel's* Strength, and to erase
Ev'ry Memorial of the *Sacred Place*.

L: *Israelitish* Messenger. Recit.

O Judah, -----

----- the *Egyptian* -----

He Send: -----

Tu rut out -----

Variants:

Line 1: A and B have 'O Judas', as in P.

'O Judah' in L is an error.

Line 6: 'th'Egyptian' in P, in error

A and B have 'the Egyptian', as in L.

Line 8: A and B have 'sends', as in P

'Send' in L is an error.

Line 9: A and B have 'To root out', as in P.

'To rut out' in L is an error.

52/40/24

-/41/- P: AIR and CHORUS.

*Ah! wretched, wretched Israel! fall'n how low,
From joyous Transport to desponding Woe.*

L: Chorus

Variant:

'Chorus' in L, as originally conceived by
Morell, but 'Air and Chorus' in P, A and B.
Presumably Handel's change of plan would have
been noted in his working text.

53/42/-

P: RECITATIVE.

Simon.

Be comforted. --- Nor think these Plagues are sent
For your Destruction, but for Chastisement.
Heav'n oft in Mercy punisheth; that Sin
May feel its own Demerits, from within,
And urge not utter Ruin. --- Turn to God,
And draw a Blessing from his Iron Rod.

L: Simon. Recit:

-----Chastisements

-----demerit -----

etc.

Variants:

Line 2: In error, A and B have 'Chastisement', as in P.
L has 'Chastisements'.

Comment:

In A, Handel wrote ':' instead of 's' at the end of the word. So 'Chastisement' was copied into B, instead of 'Chastisements'. Clearly the copyist did not consult the composer's working text of the libretto.

Line 4: 'Demerits' in P.

A and B have 'demerit', as in L.

59/49/B

R E C I T A T I V E.

P:

Israelitish Man.

Ye Worshipers of God:
Down, down with the polluted Altars, down;
Hurl *Jupiter Olympius* from his Throne,
Nor rev'rence *Bacchus* with his Ivy Crown,
And ivy-wreathed Rod.
Our Fathers never knew
Him, or his beastly Crew,
Or knowing, scorn'd such idol Vanities.

Israelitish Woman.

No more in *Sion*, let the Virgin Throng,
Wild with Delusion pay their nightly Song
To *Astareth*, yclep'd the *Queen of Heav'n*:
Hence, to *Phœnicia* be the Goddess driv'n;
Or be she, with her Priests, and Pageants, hurl'd
To the remotest Corner of the World;
Ne'er to delude us more with pious Lies.

L:

Israelitish Man

Recit

----- joy-wreathed Rod

etc.

Israelitish Woman/Recit

-----Virgins Throng

-----eclip'd -- -----

etc.

Variants:

Line 5: A and B have 'ivy-wreathed Rod', as in P, in error.

'joy-wreathed Rod' in L.

Comment:

During composition Handel set the words of the previous line, 'Bacchus with his Ivy Crown'. Morell's words for the next line were 'joy-wreathed Rod'. One can only suppose that in the heat of composition 'Ivy' remained in Handel's mind and he produced 'ivy-wreathed Rod' instead. This was then copied into B, and later published in P.

Line 9: A and B have 'Virgin Throng', as in P.

L has 'Virgins Throng' in error.

Line 11: 'yclep'd in P, correctly; all other sources are wrong.

Comment:

There is confusion about the word 'yclep'd' (meaning 'called' or 'named') in A, B and L. From A we may surmise that Handel was unsure of the meaning and spelling of the word. He settled for 'eclips'd' (see Figure 1, p.55). Smith transcribed this into B as 'Yclips'd', showing his uncertainty by blurring the first letter (see Figure 2, p.56). In L. Smith wrote 'eclip'd'. It was left to Morell, when editing the proof for P, to correct the spelling. The muddle over 'yclep'd' in this item has led to some misunderstandings in later published editions of Judas Maccabaeus.²²

61/51/28

P: D U E T.

*O never, never bow we down,
To the rude Stock, or sculptur'd Stone:
But ever worship Israel's God,
Ever obedient to his Nod.* Da Capo.

L:

-----his awefull nod,

Variants:

Line 4: 'his Nod' in P, in error.

A and B have 'his awefull nod', as in L.

'Da Capo' in P, but not in L.

Comment:

Initially P omitted 'awefull', but later editions restored the adjective.

Since 'Da Capo' matters, initially, were entirely a matter for the composer, we may surmise that this editorial comment resulted from a note made by Handel in his working text, or from a study of B by Morell.

PART THREE

65/56/31

P:

A I R.

*So shall the Lute, and Harp awake,
And sprightly Voice sweet Descant run;
Seraphic Melody to make,
In the sweet Strains of Jesse's Son.*

L:

-----pure strains-----

Variants:

Line 4: 'sweet strains' in P, in error.

A and B have 'pure strains', as in L.

Comment:

Later editions of P corrected this error; 'pure strains', as in A, B and L, was then printed,

66/57/AB

P:

Israelitish Messenger. *

From *Capharselama*, on Eagle Wings I fly,
With Tidings of impetuous Joy. ---
Came *Lysias*, with his Host, array'd
In Coat of Mail; their massy Shields
Of Gold, and Brass, flash'd Lightning through the Fields,
While the huge Tow'r-back'd Elephants display'd
A horrid Front; but *Judas*, undismay'd,
Met, fought, and vanquish'd all the rageful Train,
Nor could the bold *Arabians* save
Their Chief, *Timotheus*, from a Coward's Grave. ---
Yet more; *Nicanor* is with Thousands slain;
The blasphemous *Nicanor*, who defy'd
The living God, and in his wanton Pride,
A Monument ordain'd
Of Victories yet ungain'd.
But lo! the Conqueror comes, and on his Spear
To dissipate all Fear,
He bears the Vaunter's Head, and Hand,
That threaten'd Desolation to the Land.

Footnote to Text,

* Several Incidents were introduced here by way of *Messenger*, and *Chorus*, in order to make the Story more compleat, but it was thought they would make the Performance too long, and therefore were not Set, and therefore not printed; this being design'd, not as a finish'd Poem, but merely as an *Oratorio*.

L:

-----Capharsalama -----

Come Lysias -----
-----massic shields
-----o'er the fields

Nor could -----
-----Cowards Grave
Yet more-----

--- public monument -----

Variants:

In A, Handel preceded the above text with -

Repeat your songs, my Brethren,

Judah's Dread and Spoiler great Antiochus is dead:

- which he set, but then crossed out (see Chapter 4,
Figure 23(a)).

Line 1: 'Capharsalama' spelt correctly in L, A and B,
but wrongly in P. It was eventually corrected
in the 1750 edition.

Line 3: 'Come Lysias' in L, in error.

A and B have 'Came Lysias', as in P.

Line 4: A and B have 'Massic' wrongly, as in L.

'Massy' (= solid or weighty) correctly in P.

Comment: This would appear to be an editorial correction.

Line 5: 'Through the Fields' wrongly in P.

A and B have 'O'er the fields' as in L.

Lines 9 and 10 are in P, but not L. They were not set
by Handel.

Comment: Presumably they would have been in the working
texts of both Morell and Handel.

Line 14: 'A monument' wrongly in P.

B has 'A public monument' as in L.

A has 'A publick monument'.

Footnote to Text: This suggests that Morell had a hand
in editing P.

74/61/-

P:

R E C I T A T I V E.

Judas.

Sweet flow the Strains, that strike my feasted Ear. ---

Angels might stoop from Heav'n, to hear

The comely Songs ye sing, .

To *Israel's* Lord and King. ---

But pause awhile. --- due Obsequies prepare,

To those who bravely fell in War. ---

To *Eleazar* special Tribute pay. ---

Through slaughter'd Troops he cut his way

To the distinguish'd Elephant, and, whelm'd beneath

The deep-stabb'd Monster, triumph'd in a glorious Death.

L:

Judas

Recit:

---Judah's-----

-----stabbed -----

Variants:

Line 4: 'Israel's Lord' in P, wrongly.

A and B have 'Judah's Lord', as in L.

Line 10: 'deep-stabb'd Monster' in P, wrongly.

A and B have 'stabbed Monster' as in L.

Comment: Both differences appear to stem from a change
having been made to Morell's original text.

81/65/35

P:

RECITATIVE.

Israelitish Woman.

Again to Earth let Gratitude descend. ---
Praise-worthy is our Hero, and our Friend. ---
Come, my fair Daughters, choicest Art bestow,
To weave a Chaplet for the Victor's Brow;
And in your Songs for ever be confess'd,
"The Valour that preserv'd, the Pow'r that bless'd,
Bless'd you with Hours, that scatter, as they fly,
Soft Quiet, gentle Love, and boundless Joy.

L:

Come then, my Daughters, -----

etc.

Variant:

Line 3: 'Come, my fair Daughters,' in P.

A and B have 'Come then, my Daughters', as in L.

Comment:

This would appear to be another example of a change having been made to Morell's original text.

83/66/36b Duet O lovely Peace

P: Not present

L: Not present

Comment:

Although this item appears in neither L nor P, it will be seen in Chapter 3 that it was the duet version, not the air (item 82/-/36a) that was sung at the first performance. Handel decided to present a choice between the two versions. The text in both cases is identical. In A, Handel began to set the words as an Air, as originally planned by Morell. Handel then decided to write an alternative duet version. Possibly the composer himself made a note of this in his working text.

84/67/37

P:

AIR and CHORUS.

Simon.

*Rejoice, O Judah, and in Songs divine,
With Cherubin and Seraphin: harmonious join...
Hallelujah, &c...*

F I N I S.

L: Chorus

----- Hallelujah.

Finis

Variants:

Line 3: 'Hallelujah' in L.

'Hallelujah, &c.' in P.

Comment:

The revision to the title in P is closer to the work as performed.

The Evolution of the Libretto

The word-book published for the first performance on 1 April 1747 should show us the latest stage in the evolution of the libretto so far. It is apparent from footnotes that the text was supplied directly by Morell. But, as can be seen from the Collation of Textual Variants, there are a number of items where certain parts of the text were printed erroneously. Several reasons may be suggested for this. Some errors might have been the result of printer's mistakes, or Morell's carelessness in proof reading. The wrong spelling of 'Capharsalama' (66/57/AB) and the omission of the duet heading for 'Come ever-smiling liberty' (19/19/12) are examples. We have already seen (page 38) that Handel's final performing text included alterations - deliberate or careless - that were not communicated to the librettist. For this reason also P did not conform exactly to what was performed. Morell's text was technically more

correct in spellings such as 'yclep'd' in 'Ye worshippers of God' (59/49/B), and 'Massy' in 'O Capharsalama', where A, B and L were in error. Morell's annoyance with Handel's carelessness with parts of his text could well have been responsible for the footnotes to the text in P for 'O Liberty' (15/15/9) and the recitative 'From Capharsalama'.

Smith's text in the Larpent copy includes a number of extra variations in spelling, e.g. 'Misteries' in 'We come; Oh see' (21/21/14; -/-/-) and 'to rut out' in 'O Judas' (51/39/-). The most interesting feature of L, however, is that it preserves two lines of text in 4/4/2 which are found in no other source. They must have been removed by both Handel and Morell before A was written and before the copy-text of P was made up. Their presence in L shows that Smith copied from a form of the text which preceded Handel's autograph score.

What emerges quite clearly from the Collation is that A, B and L often agree, whereas P has the variant. In some cases, the word-book may represent Morell's preference, rather than what was actually performed.

CHAPTER 2.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See Whitworth, William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, p.62.
2. The name 'Epiphanes' or 'manifest' was chosen by Antiochus because he regarded himself as a god manifest in human flesh. His enemies, however, dubbed him Antiochus Epimanes, implying 'Antiochus the madman'. See Metzger, An Introduction to the Apocrypha, p.132.
3. Throughout Judea, as elsewhere, Antiochus Epiphanes caused heathen altars to be erected; he introduced pagan customs even within the holy city of Jerusalem itself. On a fateful day toward the close of 167 (the 25th of Chislev, approximately our December), Antiochus's henchmen desecrated the altar in the Temple by offering on it swine's flesh to the Olympian Zeus. He also sought to abolish the Jewish religion by a series of edicts forbidding, on pain of death, the observance of the Sabbath, the circumcision of male children, and even the possession of a copy of the Old Testament Law (see Metzger, Ibid).
4. Joannan Caddis, Simon Thassi, Judas Maccabaeus, Eleazar Araran and Jonathan Apphus.
5. Adapted from the Oxford Bible Atlas, Third Edition, 1984, p.35.
6. As commonly defined, Apocrypha applies to the fourteen or fifteen books dating from the last two centuries B.C., and the first century A.D. Some of the earliest books formed part of the sacred literature of the Alexandrian Jews, but later Jewish scholars, including Josephus

(37 - c.100 A.D.) rejected their authority. They were included as part of the Old Testament in the Septuagint (the early Greek version of the Bible) and the Vulgate (the Latin translation of the Bible made by St. Jerome between 383 and 405 A.D.). In the Western Church the Apocrypha gradually rose in esteem, until the Council of Trent (1545 - 63) affirmed the canonicity of the greater part. In England, Miles Coverdale's translation of 1535, the so - called Thomas Matthew Bible of 1537 and the Geneva Bible of 1560, widely circulated in England, all contained the Apocryphal Books. The King James, or Authorized, Version of 1611 had them printed between the Old and New Testaments, but without preface or note. Alexander Cruden's Concordance of 1737 (dedicated to Queen Caroline) contained a Concordance to the Books called Apocrypha. See Metzger, Op.cit, pp.185-188, and McHardy, The New English Bible. Apocrypha, Introduction.

7. Josephus was the author of what became for Christianity perhaps the most significant extra-biblical writings of the first century. His works are the principal source for the history of the Jews from the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, 175-163 B.C., to the fall of Masada in 73 A.D. See Whiston, The Works of Josephus: A New Updated Edition, Introduction.
8. Whiston was a mathematician and theologian. In 1703 he succeeded Newton as Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, but he was expelled in 1710 because of his Arianizing views, a heresy which denied the Divinity

of Christ. In 1747 he joined the General Baptists, a body allied with that of the Presbyterians. See Livingstone(ed.), The Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church, p.552.

9. A History of the Oratorio, vol.2, p.300 fn.

10. Call mark 172.F.25(6). Another copy is in the British Library, T.2164(6).

11. Call mark, 171.E.13(14).

12. See 'New Sources for the libretto of Handel's Joseph' Handel Tercentenary Collection, pp. 182-3.

13. The Works of Josephus op.cit., p.327.

14. Op.cit., p.328.

15. A footnote on page 14 of the original printed word-book explains this. I have quoted this explanation in full in item 66/57/AB on p.58 below.

16. Call mark LA 65. The circumstances leading to its present location are outlined in Macmillan, Catalogue of the Larpent Plays in the Huntington Library, Prefatory Notes. This explains that as a result of the 1737 Licensing Act the office of Inspector of Stage Plays was created. William Chetwynd was appointed Inspector in 1738, with Thomas Odell as his Deputy. Later, from 1778 until he died in 1824, John Larpent held this post. Following Larpent's death, the official copies of plays etc., submitted to the Inspector between 1737 and 1824, which had been in his possession, were sold to the Earl of Ellesmere in 1854, the British Museum having refused to buy them. In 1917 they were acquired by the Huntington Library at San Marino in California.

17. The Licensing Act became law on 24 June 1737. The effect of this Act was to restrict the number of theatres and to strengthen the powers of censorship by the Lord Chamberlain. There was some religious opposition to dramatic entertainments and opposition by many tradesmen and merchants; a significant number of London citizens felt the city would be improved by their extermination, or at least by their removal from the central area. But the principal force was political. During the early 1730s, the traditional methods the government had relied upon to regulate theatres and plays had collapsed, owing to a number of lawsuits which weakened the power of the Lord Chamberlain. Until 1733, Walpole had been able, through the Lord Chamberlain, the Treasury, or Justices of the Peace to exercise some measure of control over the playhouses. But for nearly four theatrical seasons thereafter, until the Licensing Act went into effect in June 1737, the theatres were free from all but the most inconsequential restraints. From 1733, the growing insecurity of Walpole's government was shown by the increase in satirical attacks in theatre performances aimed at him and the King. These led to a lack of confidence by the King on Walpole's administration. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that Walpole took a more active interest in theatrical activities than he had done earlier. He tried to enact new legislation in 1735,

but this was rejected by Parliament. This in turn increased stage attacks on Walpole and the King in such plays as Fielding's Pasquin, The Historical Register for the Year 1736 and Euridice Hissed, Havard's King Charles the First, and Dodsley's The King and the Miller of Mansfield. A proposal to produce the scurrilous play, The Vision of the Golden Rump brought matters to a head. Walpole quoted from its script in 1737 in the House of Commons debate, when the new bill was brought before Parliament. The Act made a favourable impression on King George II, and undoubtedly helped to renew his confidence in Walpole and his government. The major provisions of the Act remained in force until 1968. See Liesenfeld, The Licensing Act of 1737, pp.3-4 and The Stage and the Licensing Act 1729-1739, Introduction, pp.xvii- xxiv; also Langford, A Polite and Commercial People, pp.48-9, and The London Stage, part 3, vol.1, p.xlix; part 3, vol.2, p.676.

18. See Churchill, Watermarks in Paper of the XVII and XVIII Centuries, pp. 28,47.

19. See 'The Title', Chapter 6.

20. Some idea of his methods can be seen in the Larpent manuscript copy of Alexander Balus, US-Sm, LA 70.

The manuscript, in Morell's own hand, was apparently used by Handel as a working copy. It shows many textual alterations, including the omission of some items,

and the substitution of others, indicated in Handel's handwriting.

21. See 'Footnote to Text' on p.58.

22. Arnold edition has 'eclipt'. Novello edition (ed. J.E.West) has 'yclept'.

CHAPTER 3.

THE MUSIC:

ITS COMPOSITION AND EVOLUTION UNTIL THE FIRST PERFORMANCE

Introduction

With his working text of Morell's libretto and a stock of music manuscript paper, Handel began writing the score of Judas Maccabaeus on 8 or 9 July 1746. It is possible, however, that he had already jotted down some sketches; he may even have considered using some of his own music which had been successful in earlier works, or that of others, if it could be made to fit Morell's text. Part One was completed in draft on 21 July and fully completed on 22 July. Part Two was begun on 25 July and was fully completed on 2 August. Part Three was completed on 11 August.¹ During this period Handel made a number of compositional changes in the score as the work progressed.

The next stage in the musical evolution of this work came after 11 August 1746, when folios which were not originally in the autograph score were added to it.² The items on those folios then became part of the oratorio as it was first performed, since the additional material is included in the 1747 word-book and in Walsh's first edition of this oratorio, published soon after the initial performances. We do not know what precise stage the autograph score had reached when Smith began to make a fair copy of it for Handel to use at the first performances. Later still, revisions were made in the conducting score to movements before they were given in the first performance.

**The First Soloists in Judas Maccabaeus
and their Original Contribution**

In his first edition of Judas Maccabaeus, published on 1 May 1747, John Walsh printed the names of the original soloists. Although this publication did not appear until after the sixth performance in 1747, there is no reason to doubt that the original soloists were Elisabetta de Gambarini,(soprano); Caterina Galli,(second/mezzo soprano); John Beard, (tenor); and Henry Theodore Reinhold,(bass), as indicated by Walsh: no doubt Walsh received his music copy-text before, or soon after, the first performance.

The Contents Page of the first Walsh edition (designated 'A Table of the Songs in the Oratorio of Judas Macchabaeus') reads:

First Act

Overture	1
From this dread Scene, Duet	8
Pious Orgies, Pious Airs,	12
Arm, arm, ye Brave,	14
Call forth thy Pow'rs, my Soul, and dare,	18
Come, ever-smiling Liberty,	20
'Tis Liberty, dear Liberty alone,	23
Come, ever-smiling Liberty, Duet	25
No unhallow'd Desire	27

Second Act

So rapid thy Course is,	29
From mighty Kings he took the Spoil	32
Hail! Judea, happy Land,	36
How vain is Man,	37

Ah! wretched Israel!	40
The Lord worketh Wonders	41
Sound an Alarm,	44
With pious Hearts	46
O never, never bow we down, Duet	48

Third Act

Father of Heav'n	52
So shall the Lute and Harp awake,	57
With Honour let Desert be crowned,	62
O lovely Peace, with Plenty crown'd, Duet	66
Rejoyce, O Judah,	70
Marche	73

Before each air and duet, on the pages shown in the Contents Page, Walsh printed the name of the soloists associated with that movement:

First Act

P. 8	Duetto by Sig ^{ra} Gambarini & Sig ^{ra} Galli.
P.12	Sung by Sig ^{ra} Gambarini.
P.14	Sung by M ^r Reinhold.
P.18	Sung by M ^r Beard.
P.20	Sung by Sig ^{ra} Gambarini.
P.23	Sung by Sig ^{ra} Galli.
P.25	Duetto, Sung by Sig ^{ra} Gambarini & Sig ^{ra} Galli.
P.27	Sung by M ^r Beard.

Second Act

P.29	Sung by Sig ^{ra} Galli.
P.32	Sung by Sig ^{ra} Gambarini.
P.36	Duetto, Sung by Sig ^{ra} Gambarini and Sig ^{ra} Galli.
P.37	Sung by M ^r Beard.

- P.40 Sung by Sig^{ra} Gambarini.
P.41 Sung by M^r Reinhold.
P.44 Sung by M^r Beard.
P.46 Sung by M^r Reinhold.
P.48 Duetto, Sung by Sig^{ra} Gambarini & M^r Beard.

Third Act

- P.52 Sung by Sig^{ra} Galli.
P.57 Sung by Sig^{ra} Gambarini.
P.62 Sung by M^r Beard.
P.66 Duetto, Sig^{ra} Gambarini & Sig^{ra} Galli.
P.70 Sung by M^r Reinhold.

Walsh's edition does not tell us who sang the recitatives. However, from the conducting score it is possible to identify these singers, either by their role or because their name was annotated at the beginning of a movement (see Appendix Chart 16).

Part One.

- Sung by Sig^{ra} Galli: Recit: Well, Brethren, may your
Sorrows
- Sung by Sig^{ra} Gambarini: Recit: Daughters, let your
distressful Cries
- Sung by M^r Reinhold: Recit: Not vain is all this Storm
Of Grief
- Sung by M^r Reinhold: Recit: I feel, I feel the Deity
within
- Sung by M^r Beard: Recit: 'Tis well, my Friends
- Sung by Sig^{ra} Gambarini: Recit: To Heav'ns Immortal King
- Sung by Sig^{ra} Galli: Recit: These noble Views
- Sung by M^r Beard: Recit: So will'd my Father

Sung by M^r Beard: Recit: We come, Oh see
Sung by M^r Beard: Recit: Ambition! if e'er Honour

Part Two

Sung by Sig^{ra} Galli: Recit: Victorious Hero!
Sung by Sig^{ra} Gambarini: Recit: O let eternal Honours
crown his Name
Sung by M^r Beard: Recit: Thanks to my Brethren
Sung by Sig^{ra} Galli: Recit: O Judas, O my Brethren
Sung by M^r Reinhold: Recit: Be comforted
Sung by M^r Beard: Recit: My Arms!
Sung by M^r Reinhold: Recit: Enough. To Heav'n we leave
the Rest

Sung by Sig^{ra} Gambarini: Recit: Ye Worshippers of God!

Part Three

Sung by Sig^{ra} Galli: Recit: See, see yon Flames
Sung by Sig^{ra} Gambarini: Recit: O grant it, Heav'n
Sung by Sig^{ra} Galli: Recit: From Capharsalama
Sung by M^r Beard: Recit: Sweet flow the Strains
Sung by M^r Reinhold: Recit: Peace to my Countrymen
Sung by Sig^{ra} Gambarini: Recit: Again to Earth let
Gratitude descend.

On f.60 in the conducting score, the semichorus, 'Disdainful of Danger' has Galli, Beard and Reinhold named on their respective staves: Handel meant it to be sung by the soloists.

The following analysis shows the total number of items sung by the soloists at the first performance:

	Sop.1	Sop.2	Tenor	Bass
	(Gamb'ni)	(Galli)	(Beard)	(Reinh'd)
Recitatives:	6	6	7	5
Airs:	4	3	5	2
Duets:	3	3	0	0
Air and Chorus:	1	0	0	2
Duet and Chorus:	2	1	1	0
Semichorus:	0	1	1	1
Total Movements ³	16	14	14	10

The Early Compositional Changes to Movements

The compositional changes that Handel made to individual movements in both the autograph score and the conducting score prior to the first performance fall into three categories. These are:

1. Movements with minor, but significant, alterations,
2. Movements with substantial insertions, and
3. Movements drafted, but then abandoned.

These categories are now considered, using the system of abbreviations given in the Preface to identify the movements.

1. Minor, but significant, alterations

These compositional changes may be subdivided into the following types:

a. Tempo changes

5/5/3. Chorus: For Sion Lamentation make,

Handel originally marked this movement 'Pian e Larghetto' on f.15 in A. Later he changed it to 'Larghetto

e un poco pian', which is how it was transcribed into B.

16/16/10. Air: Come, ever-smiling Liberty,

On f.35v. in A, Handel crossed out his original Allegro tempo mark, and replaced it by Andante. This was how it was copied into B.

18/18/11. Air: 'Tis Liberty',

On f.37v. in A, there appears 'Andante' and 'all:non mosso', both heavily crossed out and replaced by 'Larghetto'. This was copied into B as 'Largh^o'.

43/34/21. Air: From mighty Kings he took the Spoil,

On f.66 in A, this air was initially marked 'Larghetto', but it was changed there by Handel to 'Andante'.

46/38/23. Air: How vain is Man,

On f.73v. in A, Handel first designated this air 'Allegro', but he crossed this out and replaced it with 'Andante'.

80/64/35. Chorus: To our great God,

At the top of f.117v. in A, Handel originally wrote 'a tempo giusto'. This he crossed out and replaced it with 'allegro'. It was transcribed into B as 'Allegro'.

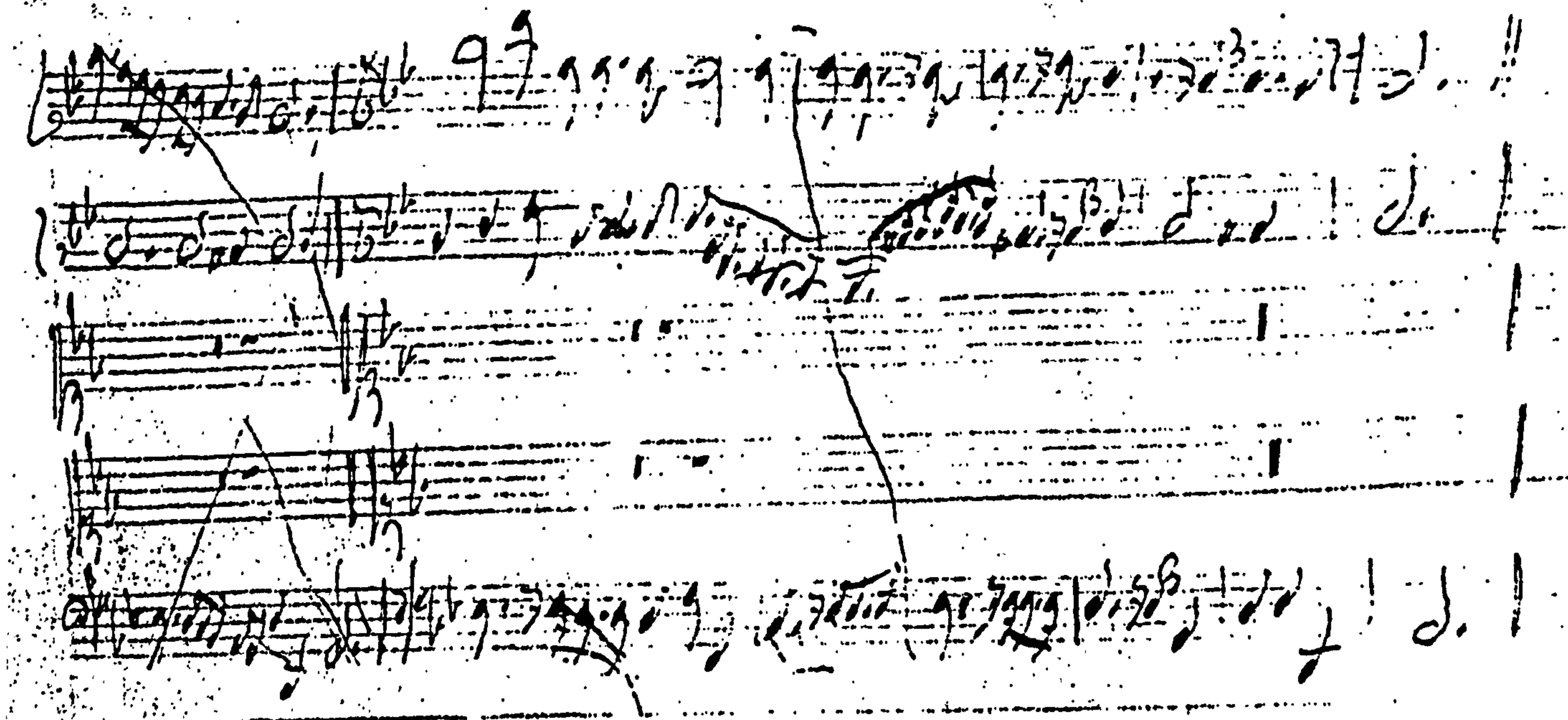
b. Insertions

4/4/2. Duet: From this dread Scene,

In this movement Handel rejected his original three-bar cadential ending on f.14v. in A, involving a descending octave melody. He lengthened the ending with this eight-bar string tutti containing an hemiola, as shown in Fig.3.

Fig.3 Lbl, RM 20.e.12, f.14v.

The revised ending of 'From this dread Scene'.



8/8/5. Chorus: O Father, whose almighty Pow'r

On f.22v. in A, the last bar is deleted. An 'NB' indicates to the copyist that three additional bars, similarly marked on the inserted f.23, are to be copied here (see Fig.4(a), p.79 and Fig. 4(b), p.80).

82/-/36a. Air: O lovely Peace,

Whilst composing the air, Handel decided to insert a short passage on f. 123v. in A (see Fig.5, p.81). So on f.125, following the 'Da Capo' signs on the first set of staves and before the second set on which he had already written the opening of the final chorus, he wrote an 'NB' sign as a cue to his copyist. This relates with that on f.123v., which indicates where the additional bars on f.125 should be inserted. A fair copy of this insertion appears on ff.29-29v. in Part One of B.

Fig. 4(a)

Lbl, RM 20.e.12, f.22v.

A revision to be
made in 'O Father,
whose almighty Pow'r'.

The image shows a handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation is in a historical style, likely from the 17th or 18th century. The lyrics are written below the staves, and there are several annotations and corrections. A large, bold 'V' is written across the first three staves. The lyrics include: 'O Father, whose almighty Pow'r', 'born', 'and', 'to save', 'and', 'born', 'and', 'to save', 'and', 'born', 'and', 'to save'. There are also some words that are crossed out or written in a different script, such as 'and', 'to save', 'and', 'born', 'and', 'to save'. The score is written in a cursive hand, and the ink is dark. The paper appears aged and slightly discolored.

Fig. 4(b)

Lbl, RM 20.e.12, f.23.

Additional bars to be
added to 'O Father,
whose almighty Pow'r'.

Handwritten musical notation on ten staves, with lyrics written below the notes. The notation is in a historical style, featuring various note values and clefs. The lyrics are written in a cursive script. The staves are numbered 1 through 10. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and bar lines. The lyrics are written in a cursive script, and some words are underlined. The staves are numbered 1 through 10. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and bar lines. The lyrics are written in a cursive script, and some words are underlined.

1. *Handwritten musical notation*

2. *Handwritten musical notation*

3. *Handwritten musical notation*

4. *Handwritten musical notation*

5. *Handwritten musical notation*

6. *Handwritten musical notation*

7. *Handwritten musical notation*

8. *Handwritten musical notation*

9. *Handwritten musical notation*

10. *Handwritten musical notation*

Lyrics (written below the staves):

Handwritten lyrics in cursive script, including words like 'O Father', 'whose almighty Pow'r', 'conquer', 'have', 'and', 'bold', 'and', 'have', 'and', 'bold', 'and'.

5. Fish.

Lbl, RM 20.e.12,

f.123v.

An insertion to be
made in the air,
'O lovely Peace'.

Fig. 6

Lbl, RM 20.e.12,

f129r.

The first entry of
the chorus indicated
by Handel in
'Hallelujah, Amen'.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation, identified as Figure 6, from a manuscript (Lbl, RM 20.e.12, f129r). The notation is written on ten staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The music consists of a series of notes, mostly eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. The text 'Hallelujah, Amen' is written below the staves. The score is marked with a large 'X' and the word 'Coda' is written at the end. The notation is in a historical style, with some variations in note heads and stems. The page is numbered -82- at the top.

-/68/- Chorus: Hallelujah, Amen.

Rejoice, O Judah, Hallelujah, Amen.

Handel made two compositional insertions in this movement. At the end of f.129 r. in A, Handel crowded in four bars of semiquaver string writing, to be played immediately before the beginning of the initial bass entry of the 'Hallelujah' fugue (see Fig. 6, p.82). As can be seen from this example, Handel wrote a two-bar rest and, underneath it, 'Entra Il Coro'. To adjust the music to this change the viola and bass soloist's lines have notes crossed out and a four-bar rest added. Then comes the fugal entry, with a 'tasto solo' continuo accompaniment. This is written underneath the string semiquaver section designed to precede it. To clarify matters for his copyist, Handel also wrote '48 Pause' at the very bottom of f.129. In its German form 'pause' meant rests.⁴ So, clearly, this was a sign for Smith to indicate a rest of forty-eight bars in the parts of those instruments that were about to enter the finale, having being tacet so far in this item.

Handel made another insertion in A whilst composing the final chorus. On f.130v. there is an 'NB', and a bracket before the three upper string parts. At the end of f.131, a corresponding bracket closes the section of thirteen bars, where Handel wished to revise the string writing, but not the other material. These markings directed his copyist back to what is now f.128 where the revised string parts were written. Those parts were copied on ff.48-f.49v. in B. So this revision was made during composition in A, and not as a revision for a later revival performance.

c. Deletions

1/1/- . Ouverture

b. Allegro

On f.3v. in A, Handel decided to eliminate a section of the music he had written at the end of the development section of this fugue. He warned his copyist of the deletion by 'NBs' on f.3v. and f.4. By omitting those bars, Handel tightened up the musical structure and highlighted the beginning of the recapitulation at bar 87. The entry of the oboes with the organ continuo, the latter marked 'Org:pieno' (i.e. full organ), added both weight and colour to the orchestral sound here (see Fig.7(a), p.85: Fig.7(b), p.86).

10/10/7. Air: Arm, arm ye Brave;

- /11/- . Chorus: We come,

In the chorus 'We come in bright array', Handel had second thoughts about what he had written at the end of f.30-f.30v. in A. Here there are alterations: a group of three bars of the choral music has been crossed out. His original working produced a series of parallel octaves (see Fig.8, p.87). Since B contains a fair copy of this movement incorporating these changes, the alterations must have been made before the conducting score was copied.

13/13/8. Air: Call forth thy Pow'rs,

Of the four folios on which this air is written in A, the first three (ff.32v.-33v.) have series of bars crossed out (see Fig.9(a), p.88; Fig.9(b), p.89; Fig.9(c), p.90). Handel probably felt the omission of these bars eliminated the repetitive semiquaver section for the violins, and thereby tightened up the musical structure of this movement.

Fig. 7(a)

Lbl, RM 20.e.12, f.3v.

A deletion in

the Overture.

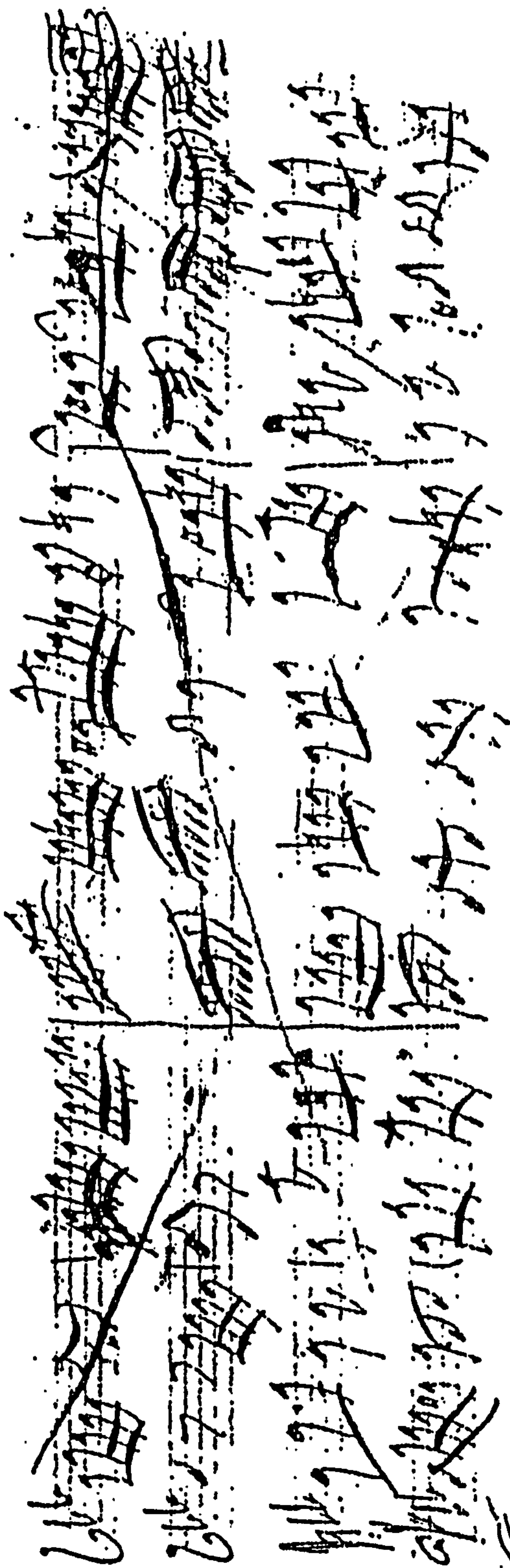
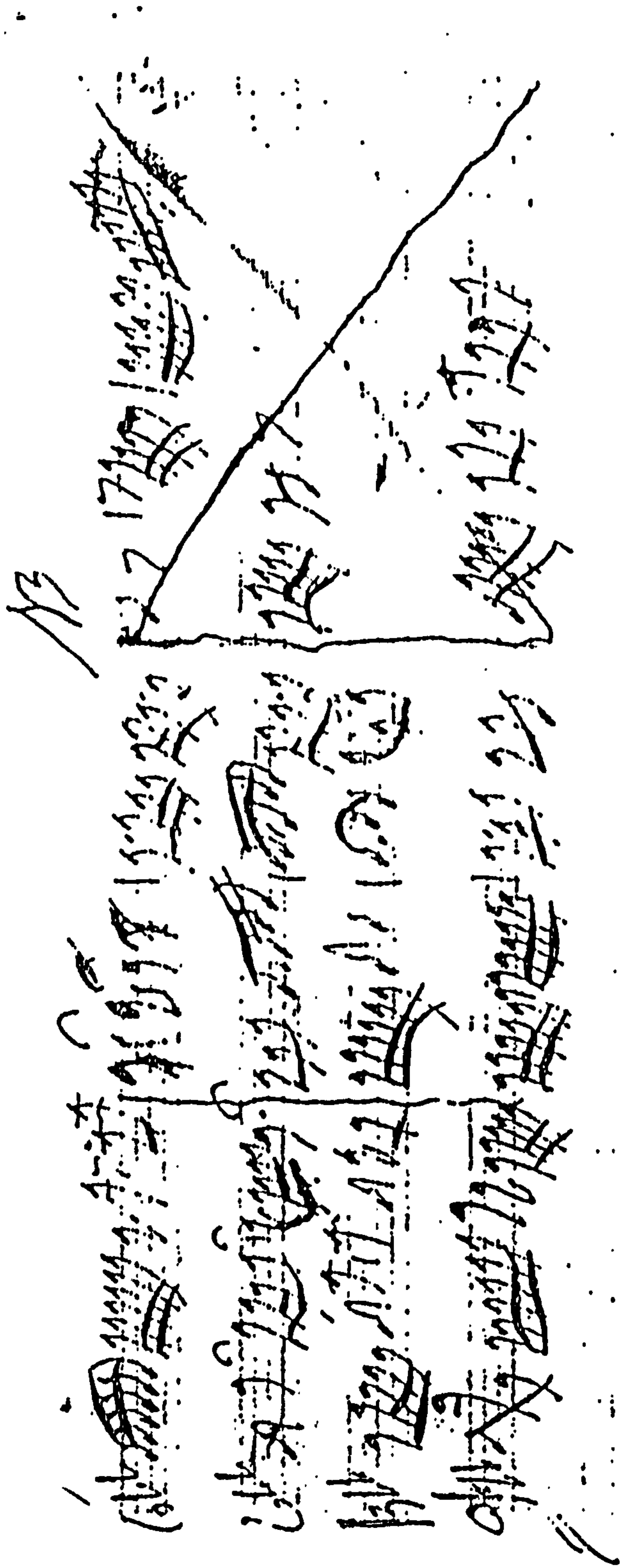
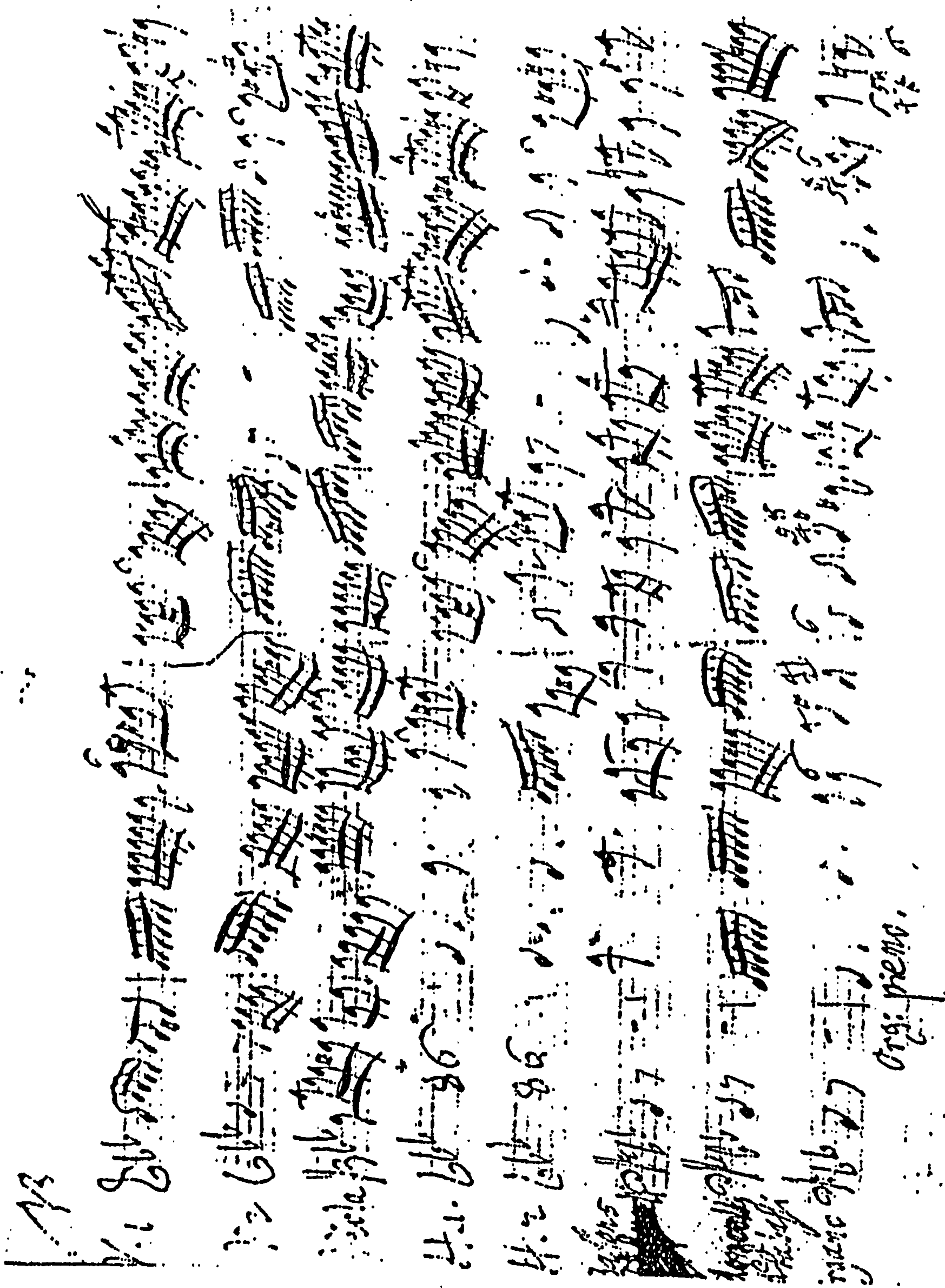


Fig. 7(b)

Lbl, RM 20.e.12, f.4.

The end of the deleted
passage marked by
'NB' in the Ouverture.



818

Lbl, RM 20.e.12, f.30v.

Compositional

deletions in

the chorus,

'We come'.

Handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation is a form of shorthand, possibly a simplified musical notation or a code. The text is written in a cursive, handwritten style. The score is divided into two main sections by a horizontal line. The first section contains five staves, and the second section contains five staves. The notation includes various symbols, including vertical lines, horizontal lines, and small circles, which may represent notes or rests. The overall appearance is that of a personal or working manuscript.

Fig. 9(a)

Lbl, RM 20.e.12,

f.32v.

Compositional
deletions in

'Call forth
thy Powers'.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on five-line staves. The notation is in a historical style, likely from the 17th or 18th century. The music is written in a single system across five staves. There are several instances of musical notation that has been crossed out with heavy black ink, indicating deletions. These deletions are most prominent in the first three staves. The lyrics 'Call forth thy Powers' are written below the staves. The handwriting is in a cursive script. The page is numbered '88' at the top center.

Fig. 9(b)

Lbl, RM 20.e.12, f.33.

More deletions in

'Call forth thy

Powers! •

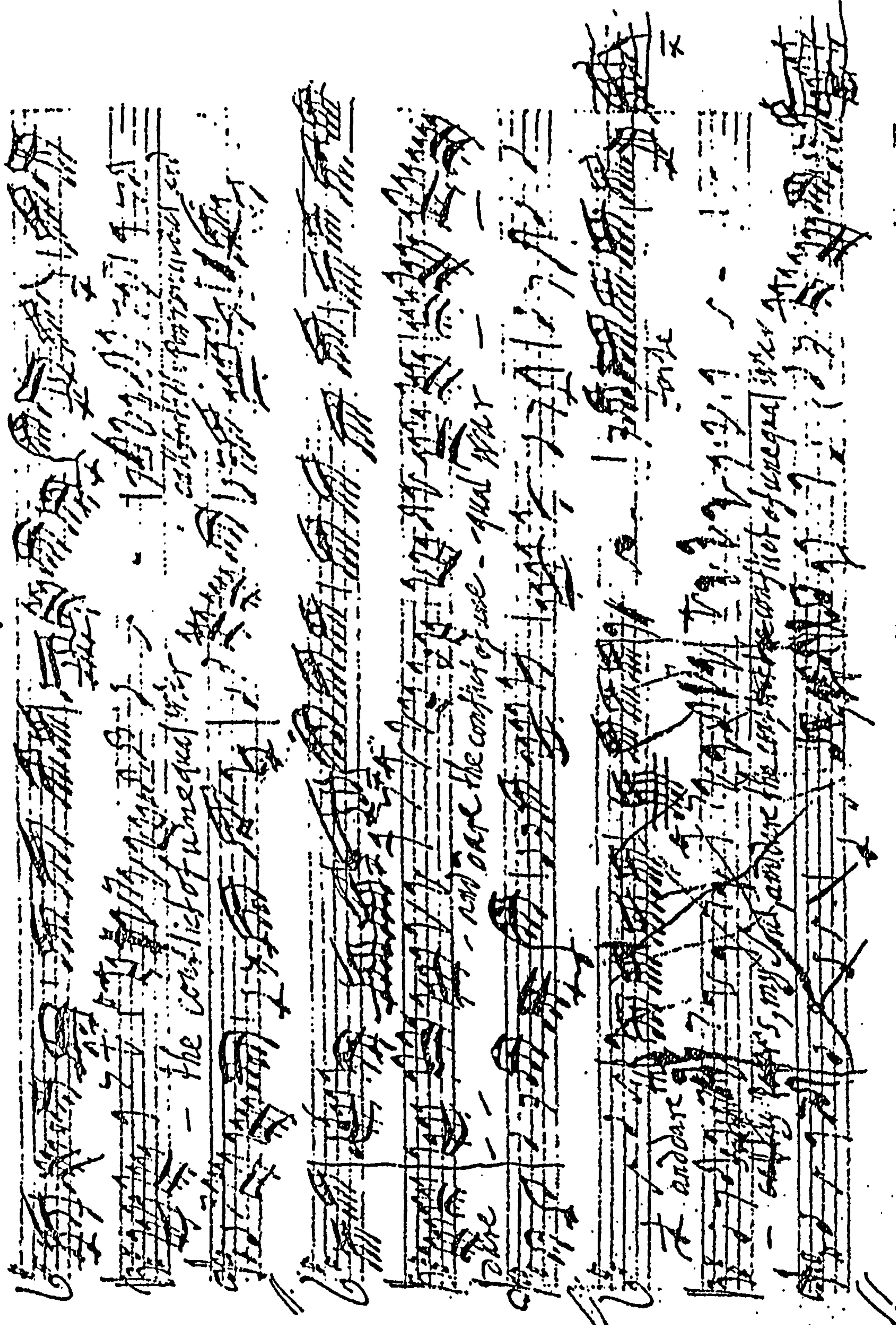


Fig. 6(c)

Lbl, RM 20.e.12,

f. 33v.

'Call forth
thy Powers'
loses its

Da Capo ending.

1

C G

The end

At the beginning of bar three, the 'dal Segno' sign is also crossed out. The corresponding sign at the bottom of f.33v., which states 'Da capo/dal/Segno', has been crossed out too. Handel clearly decided against a da capo here and wrote a shortened ending on f.35. Since there is no indication of this change of plan in B, it follows that the recomposition and elimination of the dal segno must have occurred before the copy was made in it. B, therefore, is a fair copy incorporating the corrections in A.

43/34/21. Air: From mighty Kings he took the Spoil,

To tighten up the musical structure of this air, as it had been first composed, Handel made considerable revisions to it on ff.66v-69 in A. As can be seen in Fig.10(a), p.92 and Fig.10(b), p.93, this was achieved by eliminating a total of thirty-two bars.

58/48/27a. Air: With pious Hearts,

On f.88 in A, Handel deleted two bars of his original working and then continued with his revision on the same staves.

62/53/29. Air: Father of Heav'n,

In B cuts were made to two passages of this air. On the lower part of f.3v., another sheet, f.4, has been neatly stuck over it. The following folio is marked '4a'. On f.5, all the bars except the first are crossed out, as is the first bar on f.5v. Thus, from the original composition, thirteen bars (bars 42 - 54) were eliminated, as were the six bars on f.5 - f.5v.

W had the shortened form, so the cuts were probably made in B before the first performance.

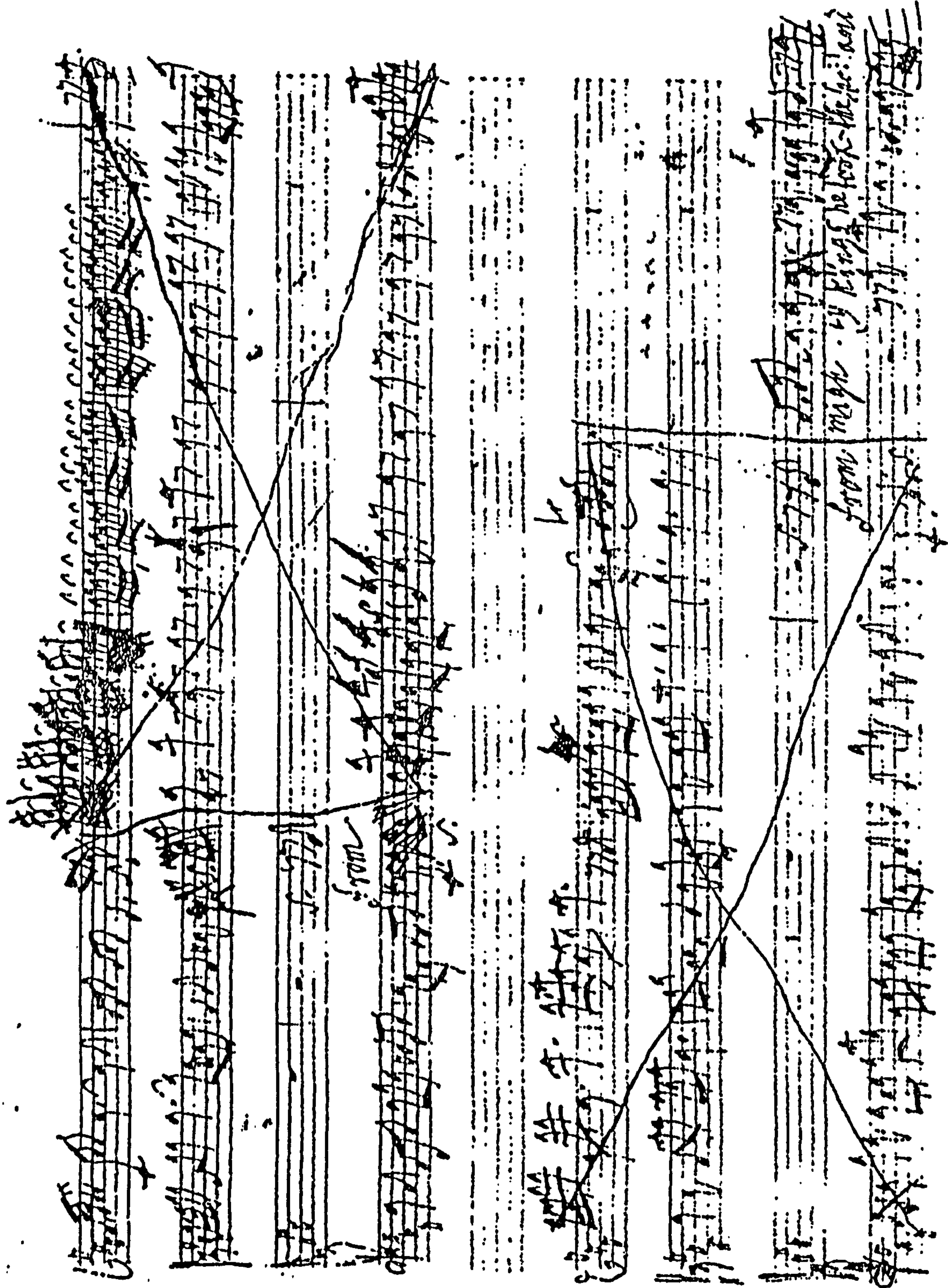


Fig.10(a)

Lbl, RM 20.e.12, f.66v.

Compositional
deletions in
'From mighty
Kings'.

Fig. 10(b)

Lbl, RM 20.e.12,

f. 69.

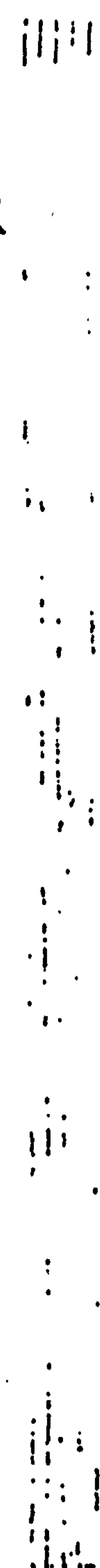
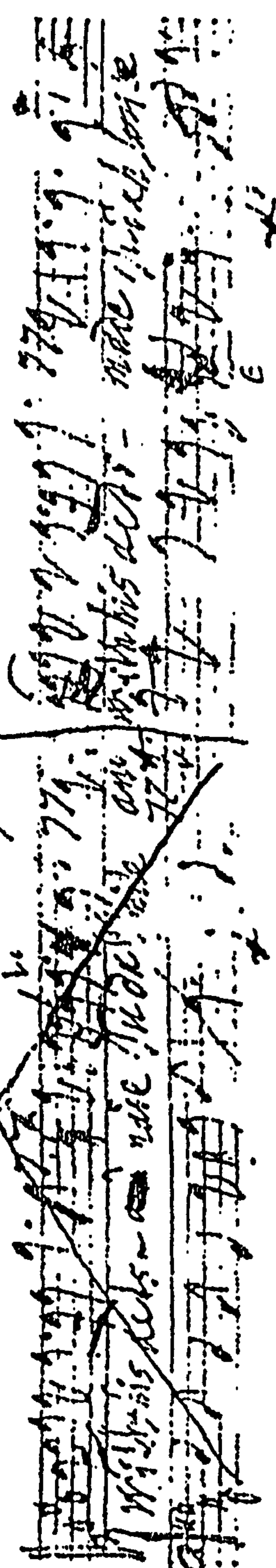
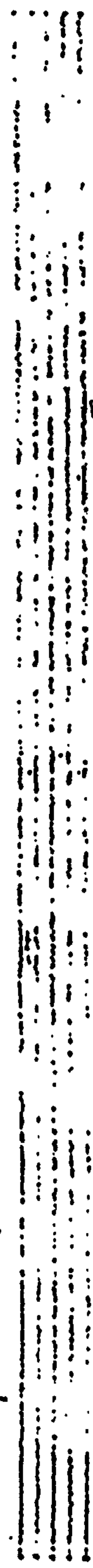
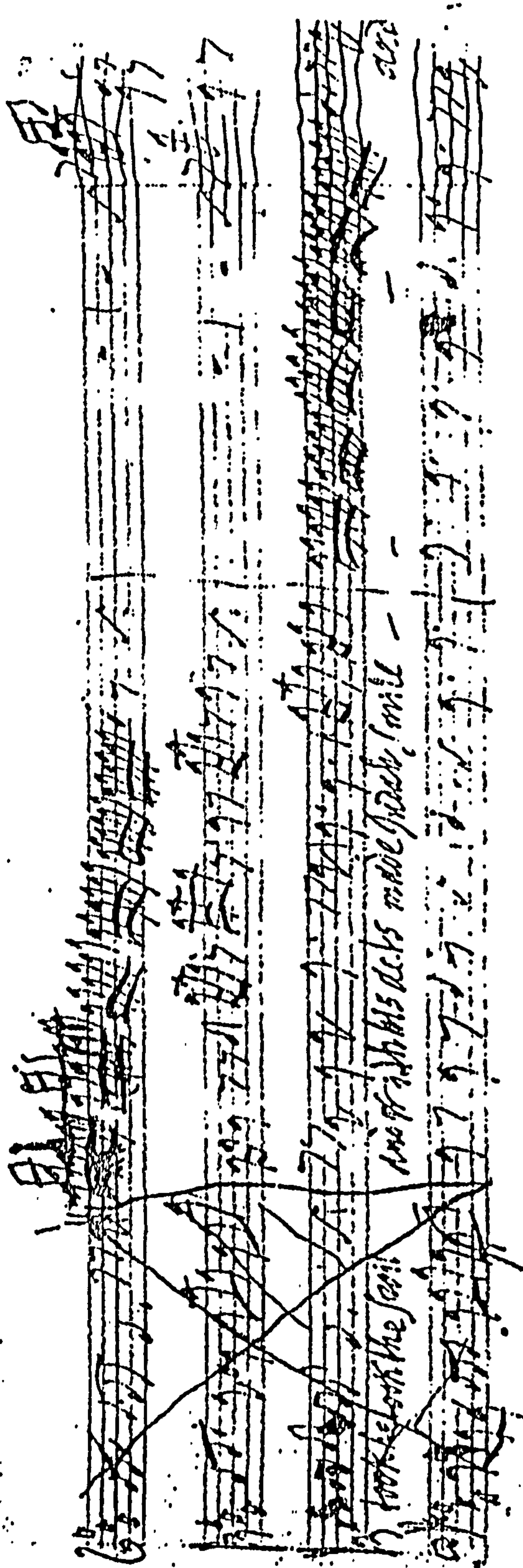
More

compositional

deletions in

'From mighty

Kings'.



d. Change of Soloists

6/6/A.B.C. Recitative: Not vain is all this Storm of Grief

The first version of this recitative was written on f.17v. in A, filling up the remaining space on the page, following the final three bars of the previous chorus. The solo part is written in the bass clef and headed 'Simon, Brother to Judas Macchabaeus'. It begins in the key of Eb and ends in Ab, and it was intended to lead into the following Eb air, 'Pious Orgies' (see Fig. 11(a), p.95). Underneath it is a partly-figured bass line.

During composition, Handel decided to transpose the following air, originally conceived as a bass solo, into the key of G major, for the soprano soloist. Consequently, he needed to change the recitative leading into it. This he did by writing 'NB' after the word 'distractfull' at the end of line 2 of the original in A. He then inserted f.18 into A, and put a corresponding 'NB' sign at the beginning of the new version, which he began on the third and fourth staves with the word 'doubt' (see Fig.11(b) p.96). He continued the soloist's music in the bass clef, with another partly-figured bass part underneath it. This new version ends in the key of B minor. Written in the composer's handwriting at the end of the page is 'Seque l'Aria/Pious Aires/im Dis cant'.⁵

This recitative was then transcribed into B, still with a bass clef for the solo part, on to what is now f.23r. F.23r. of B has suffered damage, having had f.22 stuck over it. Now the two folios are unattached, but the damage done by the adhesive makes some of the handwriting above the

Fig. 11(a)

Lbl, RM 20.e.12,

f.17v.

The original ending
of 'Not vain'.

[illegible]

Fig.11(b)

Lbl, RM 20.e.12, f.18.

The revised
ending of
'Not vain',
leading to
'Pious Orgies'.

-96-

doubt and desperation. it become the children nation chosen by the great I am the
Lord of Hosts who hid the name we trust will give entrance
of ear to the sincerity of prayer. Pious Orgies

top of the staves on f.23r. difficult to decipher. On the left hand side, 'Simon, brother to Judas Macchabaeus' has been crossed out. Above it, 'Is.' (Israelite) has been added. The accidentals before the notes in the last five bars, setting the words '(Hosts) who, still the same/ We trust, will give attentive Ear/ To the Sincerity of Pray'r.' have been changed to lower the pitch a semitone. This revision begins with a modulation to D minor, instead of D major, on 'Hosts', via a third inversion (4#/2) of the dominant chord. The recitative now ends in the key of Bb, instead of B minor, as it had originally. The vocal part, as in A, is written in the bass clef. In B, the later version on f.22r. has also suffered from adhesion. However, above the staves, at the beginning of the left hand side, 'Israelite' is clearly visible.

As in the earlier version, the accidentals in the last five bars have been changed or altered, so that the recitative would end in the key of Bb major and not B minor, as it originally had done in B. In the second version, the vocal solo part is written throughout in the soprano clef. The implications involved in these changes are considered with the next movement.

7/7/a.b.c. Air: Pious Orgies,

On ff.19-20 in A, this air is written for a soloist in the bass clef, and in the key of Eb major. It leads on from the revised recitative in the bass clef, just reviewed. As explained above, the recitative has the instruction at the end of the page 'Segue l'Aria/Pious Airs/in Dis cant'. But from W it is clear that the air was sung by Sigr^a

Gambarini, for whom Handel transposed it into the key of G major. This is confirmed on f.23v.in B, where the G major version appears.

Before the copying stage, Handel must have decided to change the type of voice for the soloist in this air, and to have it sung in G major. So in B the air was transcribed by the copyist into G major, using the soprano clef, instead of the bass clef for the solo line. The G major soprano version is part of the original conducting score, which never included the earlier bass version.⁶

From information in A and B it is clear that, at the performances in 1747, the preceding recitative, ending in the key of B minor, was sung by the bass soloist.⁷ This was followed by the air in G, sung by the soprano, Sig^{ra} Gambarini, as given in W.

44/35/22. Duet and

- /36/- . Chorus: Hail, hail Judea, happy Land!

In both the primary sources for the libretto, L and P, there is no mention that this item was intended to be a duet, nor do they have any indication that it is to be allotted to an Israelitish Woman and Israelitish Man, as Händel-Handbuch, Band 2, p.301 has it. The nearest to this designation came on f.70 in A, where Handel wrote 'man' at the entry of the first vocal part and 'woman' on the empty stave above it. His writing of 'man' has been crowded in and a bar line has been written through it. Both words were copied into B. In A, a duet for two solo voices with continuo accompaniment begins this item, and both solo parts are written in the soprano clef. The main section of

this movement then follows. It is scored for chorus, strings, oboes and continuo. At the entry of the chorus in A, at the top of f.71, Handel wrote 'entra chorus', and this heading was copied into B at the bottom of f.24v. of Part Two, prior to the full entry on f.25. Above the staves on f.24 in B, there are a number of illegible smudges of former instructions. Clearly, this score was used for several revivals. In W the names of the original soloists are printed at the beginning of their vocal lines, with both parts placed on one stave using the treble clef. W was the first source to designate the opening section of this movement as a duet. It would appear from the expression 'entra chorus' that Handel originally intended setting the first part as a chorus, as Morell had indicated. Perhaps this was designed to be a semi-chorus beginning with fugal entries. But clearly there was a change of plan, and a short section for two female solo singers, before the full entry of voices and instruments, was preferred.

52/40/24. Air and

- /41/ -. Chorus: Ah! wretched, wretched Israel!

There is no mention of an air in L. As with 44/35/22, 'Hail Judea, happy Land', this item was expanded by Handel during composition. Morell must have devised this text solely as a chorus, naming it as such. The two-line verse having been set by the time he reached f.76v., Handel wrote 'entra il coro' on the top stave, and began the scoring for chorus on f.77.

59/49/ B. Recitative: Ye Worshippers of God!

No more in Zion

Handel's original setting of the two recitatives occurs on f.88v.- f.89 in A. It began and ended in Eb, to lead into the duet 'Oh never, never bow we down', which he set in its relative, C minor. The recitative was then copied into B with its second part marked 'Isr. Woman' and beginning 'No more in Sion'. This began near the end of f.52v. and continued on the present f.61 (ff.53-60 are insertions from the 1758 revival). It ends at the bottom of f.61r. in Eb. The duet follows on f.61v. in C minor.

On f.52v. of B, alternative notes have been written above the originals for the Israelite Man, and the last bar before the Israelite Woman's recitative, 'No more in Sion', has been crossed out (see Fig.12, p.101). The recitative continues on f.53, where alterations provide a final cadence in C major. The added notes on f.52v. for the Israelite Man, are all higher than the originals. It is not known for whom this new arrangement was made. It might have been for the first performance in 1747. Then John Beard sang this recitative, which was originally intended for Caterina Galli, and written for her in the soprano clef.⁸ Presumably Beard sang the higher notes an octave lower.

61/51/28. Duet: O never, never bow we down

-/52/- . Chorus: We never, never will bow down

Handel wrote both the solo parts of the duet in the soprano clef in A, and labelled them 'I^{sr} Woman' and 'I^{sr} Man'; and these appear in B. The duet was originally intended to be sung by Sig^{ra} Gambarini and Sig^{ra} Galli.

Their names appear in B, Part Two, f.61v., and the music for them is given in the soprano clef in both A and B. In W, however, Walsh printed the solo parts in the treble clef and named the soloists as Sig^{ra} Gambarini and Mr Beard. So, according to W, John Beard, not Caterina Galli, initially sang the lower part. This would appear to indicate a last minute change of the original plan which was not recorded in B, or else W printed the wrong name here. Galli's name against the lower line in B could refer to later performances up to 1754.

2. Substantial insertions of Compositional Alterations

8/18/11. Air: 'Tis Liberty,

This movement underwent considerable changes during composition. At the bottom of f.37v. in A, amid the cancellations, there are two 'NB's, both of which are also crossed out. The air continues on f.38 with very few changes: f.38 is a separate leaf and, since nothing is written on the verso, it is clear that it was inserted here to replace an earlier one.⁹ On the first part of the bottom stave Handel wrote the violin ending to the movement; he then wrote its bass accompaniment on the same stave.

It would seem the air originally continued from f.37v. in A to what is now f.39. Then Handel crossed out all the music on this second folio and wrote another version of the later part of the air on a different folio. This was then inserted between the two earlier ones, becoming the present f.38. The air incorporating the revision on f.38 was then copied into B, and it was later published in W. So the music on f.38, and not that of f.39, recorded Handel's final

version in A, as copied into B and used at the first performance.

32/26/17. Chorus: Hear us, O Lord,

This is described as a 'Grand Chorus' in L, and 'Chorus' in P. There are no such descriptions in A or B; perhaps Handel saw no reason for Morell's adjective 'Grand'.

The original beginning of this chorus, copied on f.69v. of B, was removed in 1750 when other movements were inserted before it. This folio had to be recopied in 1764 for a revival without those movements. However, the later copy on f.69v. of B contains the first six bars of this movement as Handel wrote it on f.49 of A.¹⁰ Smith's original copy continues from bar 7 of this chorus on f.70 of B. So the complete chorus is still preserved in B.

On f.50 and f.50v. of A there are heavy deletions and revisions made by Handel during the composition of this movement. Having begun the movement with 'a tempo giusto' on f.49v. in A, Handel considered a tempo change at bar 22 on f.50. There he wrote 'allegro giusto /a tempo ordinario'. But later he crossed out 'allegro' and 'ordinario', and left 'a tempo giusto', with the last word written above the deleted 'ordinario'. At the bottom, under the continuo line, he confirmed his wishes by writing 'a tempo giusto'.

At the corresponding place on f.70 in B, there is no mention of the 'a tempo giusto'. His copyist realised that this was superfluous; it had already been recorded at the beginning of the chorus.

After completing Part One on f.56v. of A, Handel must have decided to revise the Chorus from f.51. So he put an

'NB' there. The corresponding cue he placed on a new folio, now designated f.52., and continued until the new ending on f.55v. He discarded the music he had already written on ff.51, 51v. and 56v., and inserted the new version occupying ff.52-55v. The music was copied into B with these revisions.

83/66/36b. Duet: O lovely Peace,

Following the composition of the air, Handel decided that a duet version would be preferable. Maintaining the original beginning as far as bar 20 on f.122 in A, he wrote 'qui comincia il Duetto in vece dell'aria ad libitum' in that bar. He then continued with the later version on what is now f.132. He rewrote bar 20, and then, following on after the entry of the second soloist at the end of the same bar, he continued until he finished the middle section on f.133v. Here he wrote 'Da Capo'. On the lowest stave he wrote a treble clef, followed by '39'. A bar of rests was followed by the note g: below that, he wrote 'Da Capo' again. This was done to remind his copyist to write in the number of tacet bars for the strings and flutes during the middle section, and then to return to the opening on f.122, where the transfer to the second version on f.132 was to be observed. At the end of f.133 Handel sketched in the beginning of the orchestral ritornello. It consisted of an upbeat, a bar of music and an indication of the next notes, with a rest of seven bars for the soloists.

Smith copied the duet version on ff.35v.-39v. in Part Three of B. The duet version of this movement, and not the solo version, was published in W as 'sung by

Sig^{ra} Gambarini and Sig^{ra} Galli'. On f35v.in B 'Sig^{ra} Gambarini' is clearly marked at the entry of the first soloist. At the entry of the second soloist on f.36, 'Galli' was originally written, but was later crossed out when this score was used for revivals. A total of eight bars were eliminated on f.36v. - f.37 in B. They are still intact on ff.132 -132v. in A. In W the duet version is printed without cuts. This suggests either that the cut was made, not at the first performance, but sometime later; or alternatively that Walsh's copy text was out of date. It is not possible to deduce precisely when the cut was made. The deletions on ff.36v. - 37 in B were almost certainly made by Handel; the bold strokes across the eight bars are like those he made during composition in other movements.

From Handel's remarks on f.122 in A, it would seem that the air and the duet were alternatives. The choice is 'ad libitum'. The word-books kept to the designation 'Air', as it is in L. It was their correction slips (e.g. to the second Issue of the 1747 word-book) and annotated copies (e.g. to the Lbl's 1762 word-book, 11771. h1(5)) that showed the alternative. However, from ff.40-43v.in B, where Smith copied the solo version, there is no evidence that that version was ever used in performances; there are no soloist's names relating to earlier performances, nor names crossed out and replaced by others for revivals, nor are there revisions, as there are in the duet version in B. Figs. 13(a)-13(f), pp.107-112, illustrate the various stages of the insertions made in this movement.

84/67//37. Air: Rejoice, O Judah,

There are a number of variants in the primary sources. In L this item is headed 'Chorus'. In P it is described as 'Air and Chorus'. Although from L we may deduce that Morell had originally intended this to be the final chorus in its entirety, Handel set the first part as a bass solo, and followed it with a Hallelujah chorus. The description in P suggests that the printers had different information about this item than that which appeared in L. W records that (originally) it was 'Sung by Mr Reinhold'. In none of the other primary sources is this designated as a solo; neither was the second word of the couplet spelt 'oh' in them. But these both occur in Chrysander's HG edition.

Handel wrote two versions of this movement in A:

Version 1. Air:

This is now to be found as follows:

f.125, bars 1-6;

f.125v., bars 7-17, and

f.129, bars 18-31.

Version 2. Air:

The revised version shares the opening six bars with the original version on f.125r. in A. Then Handel began the new continuation on different folios, which were subsequently inserted into A as f.126, f.127 and f.129. He began on f.125 and f.125v. and continued the orchestral introduction on what is now f.126v. (an insertion) with an extended version. The new version appears as follows:

Fig. 13(a)

Lbl, RM 20.e.12,
f.122.

Handel's
instruction
'qui comincia
il Duetto in
vece dell'aria
ad libitum' is
written at the
beginning of
bar 20.

Fig.13(b)

Lbl, RM 20.e.12, f.132.

The duet version
of 'O Lovely Peace':
The 'NB' relates to
the first entry of
the Israelitish Man,

The image displays a handwritten musical score on aged, yellowed paper. The score is written in dark ink and consists of multiple staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and bar lines. The lyrics 'O lovely peace' are written below the staves, with some words appearing to be part of a larger phrase or chorus. The handwriting is somewhat cursive and shows signs of age, with some ink bleeding and fading. The overall appearance is that of a historical manuscript or a personal draft.

Fig.13(c)

D-Hs, MA/1026,
Part Three, f.35v.

The opening of the
duet version of 'O
lovely Peace', with
the soprano part
allotted to Sig^{ra}
Gamberini (sic).

The image shows a handwritten musical score on aged paper. The score is written in ink and consists of several staves. The first staff is labeled 'Soprano' and the second staff is labeled 'Gamberini'. The music is written in a duet format, with the soprano part and the lower part. The title 'O lovely Peace' is written at the bottom right. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and clefs. The handwriting is somewhat cursive and there are some corrections and markings throughout the score.

Fig.13(d)

D-Hs, MA/1026,

Part Three, f.36.

The duet version of

'O lovely Peace'. The

entry of the second

soloist marked

'Galli'.

36.

Tru

110-

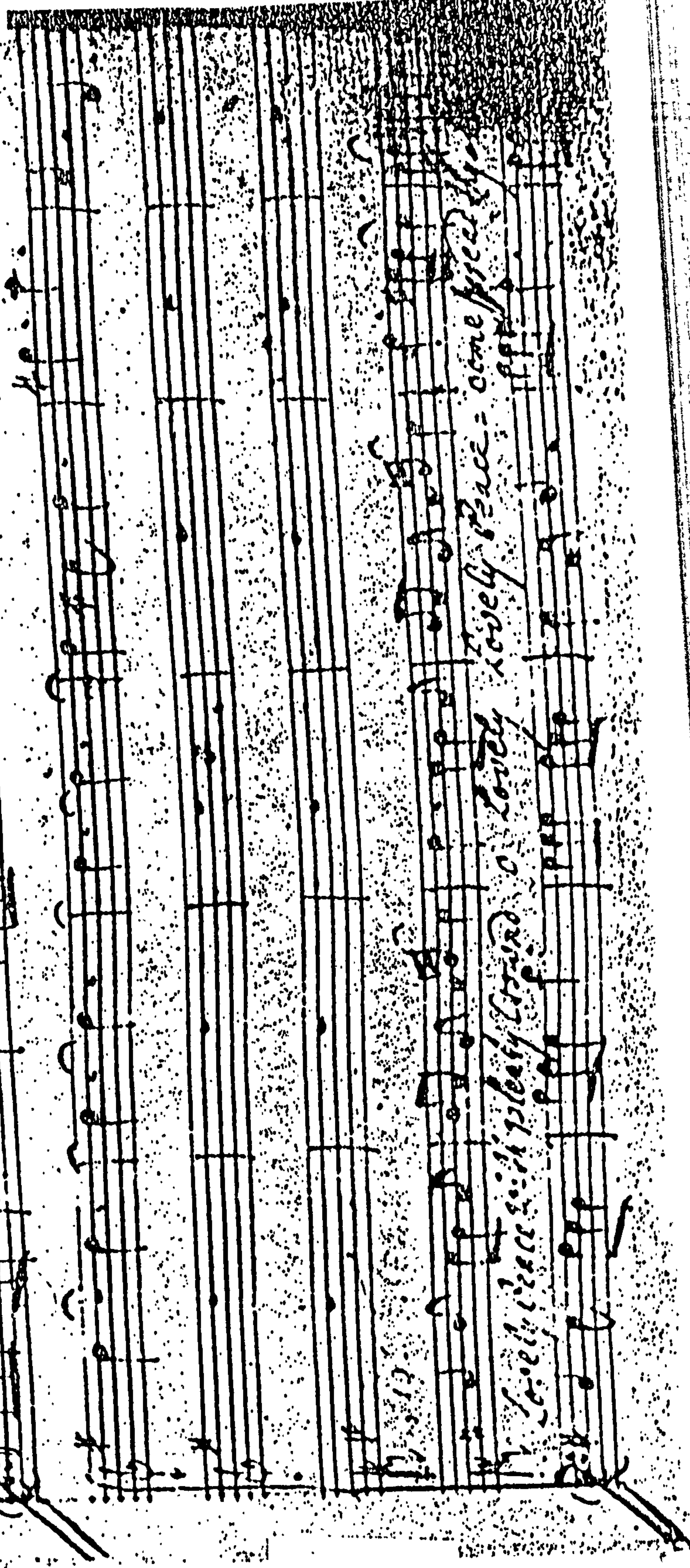


Fig.13(e)

D-Hs, MA/1026,
Part Three, f.36v.

Deleted bars in
'O lovely Peace'

-111-

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged paper. The page is numbered '-111-' at the top center. It contains several staves of music, some of which are crossed out with a large diagonal line. The lyrics are written below the staves. The text 'Deleted bars in' and ''O lovely Peace'' are written in the left margin. The musical notation includes various notes, rests, and bar lines. The handwriting is in a historical style, likely from the 16th or 17th century. The paper shows signs of age, including staining and wear.

Deleted bars in
'O lovely Peace'

Handwritten musical score for 'O lovely Peace'.

Fig.13(f)

D-Hs, MA/1026,

Part Three, f.37.

Deleted bars in

'O lovely Peace'

37

Handwritten musical score for 'O lovely Peace', Part Three, f.37. The score is written on ten staves. The first five staves contain musical notation with lyrics: 'adorned with many corn', 'adorned with many corn', 'adorned with many corn', 'adorned with many corn', and 'adorned with many corn'. The last five staves contain musical notation with lyrics: 'adorned with many corn', 'adorned with many corn', 'adorned with many corn', 'adorned with many corn', and 'adorned with many corn'. The score is marked with '37' at the top left. There are several deletions indicated by large 'X' marks over the staves. The lyrics are written in a cursive hand.

f.125, bars 1-6; f.126v., bars 7-17;
f.127, bars 18-26; f.127v., bars 27-39;
f.129, bars 40-46.

The music written on the first set of staves on f.129 is crossed out: it was originally part of version 1, but it was cancelled. However, the music for this movement, originally written on the lower set of staves on f.129, was incorporated into the revised version. To show this, Handel wrote 'Segue NB' at the beginning of the second set of staves on f.129. In Part Three of B Smith only copied the second version. He began the music on f.44 and continued it without any alteration to f.46v.

Version 1 of the final item was not copied into B and, since W also contains the revised air, it is clear that version 2 was given at the first performance.

3. Movements drafted, but then abandoned

1/1/- . Overture

d. Dead March

As first composed, the Dead March (which should not be confused with item 11A/-/-, The March) appears to have been part of the orchestral opening to Part One. In A the original sequence of folios went from what is now f.3v. directly to the present f.6r., with no intermediary folios. These two folios contained part of an uncompleted second movement in 3/8 in the overture. Handel subsequently crossed out the 3/8 music at the top of f.3v. and also that at the top of f.6. He then began the Dead March in Eb on

Fig.14(a)

Lbl, RM 20.e.12,

f.6.

The Dead March.

The image displays a handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation is in a historical style, featuring various note values, rests, and bar lines. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The music is written in a cursive, handwritten style. The score is divided into two systems of five staves each. The first system contains the first five staves, and the second system contains the remaining five staves. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines. The handwriting is somewhat faded and the paper shows signs of age. The title 'The Dead March' is written at the bottom of the page.

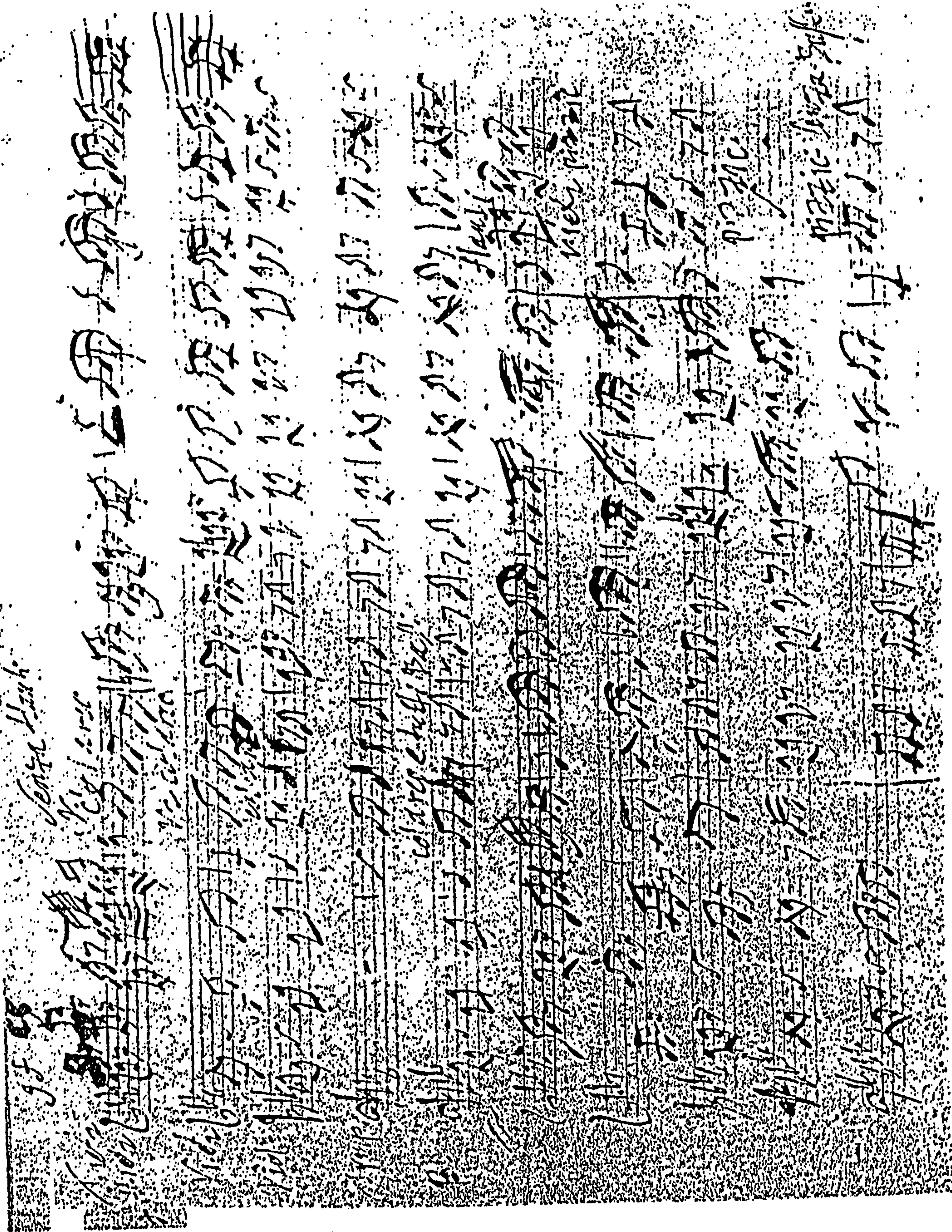
Fig.14(b)

Lbl, RM 20.e.12,

f.6v.

The Dead March

continued.



the lower part of f.6. It is scored for strings and timpani, with 'Travers e Flauti' indicated to play in bars 5 and 6, and strings playing pizzicato, 'Senza Bassens', at the bottom of the folio (see Fig.14(a),p.114; Fig.14(b),p.115).

The Dead March ends abruptly on f.6v. of A after fourteen bars. Those bars are not deleted, nor are there other indications to the copyist that they should be omitted. Indeed, it is possible that Handel was trying out an idea of having this item as a link between the overture and the opening chorus. However, the Dead March was not copied into B. Handel abandoned it in A, replacing it on ff. 4 and 5 with reworkings of the 3/8 movement together with a new Lentement and da capo of the 3/8 music. If Handel did complete the Dead March the continuation of it has been lost or destroyed. Possibly Handel felt that a Dead March and a solemn C minor opening chorus provided too much solemnity for the opening of a celebratory oratorio, so he abandoned the Dead March.

In referring to this item, the Händel Handbuch Band 2 places it in its Anhang.¹¹ I have designated it item 'd' of the overture, since these fourteen bars are now placed after the Lentement and the da capo of the 3/8 movement both in A and in the Aylesford library copy, which was obviously transcribed from A. From the evidence in A, B and W, it is clear that the opening orchestral movement as performed was in three sections, and that the Dead March was not played at the first performance, because Handel had used the music for 'Pious Orgies'.

15/15/9.Air: O Liberty

Presumably Handel deleted this movement before the first performance of Judas Maccabaeus, as he had already used it in the Occasional Oratorio (see Chapter 2, p.44 above). The complications concerning the music of 'O Liberty' are dealt with comprehensively in Chapter 4.

Copying Errors in the Conducting Score

A number of copying errors were made during the preparation for the first performance of Judas Maccabaeus. These uncorrected errors in the primary sources were perpetuated in a number of eighteenth-century manuscript copies, and in subsequent printed editions.

The following are examples of such errors:

9/9/6. Recitative: I feel, I feel the Deity within,

In the penultimate bar of this item on f.26 of A the last two notes in the viola part went down to a d, the same note as in the final bar. These were copied on f.34 of B a fifth higher, to an a, which then goes down to a d in the last bar. An even more blatant pair of consecutive fifths with the bass notes were thus produced.

Ex.2.The copyist's mistake on D-Hs, MA/1026, Part One, f.34.

The viola notation in A was wrongly copied into B.

The image displays a musical score comparison between two sources, labeled 'Source A' and 'Source B'. Each source has two staves: the top staff is for Viola and the bottom staff is for Bass. The notation is in treble clef for Viola and bass clef for Bass. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The time signature is common time (C). The score is divided into two measures by a double bar line. In the first measure, the Viola part in Source A has a half note D4 (middle C) followed by a half note E4 (first line), while the Bass part has a half note G3 (second space) followed by a half note F3 (first space). In the second measure, the Viola part in Source A has a half note D4 followed by a half note E4, while the Bass part has a half note G3 followed by a half note F3. In Source B, the Viola part in the first measure has a half note A4 (second line) followed by a half note G4 (third line), which is a fifth higher than in Source A. In the second measure, the Viola part has a half note D5 (third space) followed by a half note C5 (third line), which is also a fifth higher than in Source A. The Bass part in Source B remains the same as in Source A.

However, the version in B must have been used for the first and subsequent performances. The copyist's mistake was reproduced in six of the eight extant eighteenth-century manuscript copies of the score, suggesting that they were copied from B, with no reference to A in this movement. Two alone have the version in A. They are the Aylesford and the Annesley scores. Randall and Arnold reproduced the incorrect version in B in their editions. Chrysander in his HG edition used the version in A.

16/16/10. Air: Come, ever-smiling Liberty,

Some confusion was caused by Handel's 'colla parte' sign for the violins on f.36 in A. His instructions were not copied accurately on f. 48v. in B. From bar 13 of A, the violin part begins to double the solo soprano voice part. Then in bar 14 Handel used the shorthand sign '√' to indicate that this doubling was to continue. Nothing more was written in the violin parts until a new and independent figure was used in bar 22. Clearly Handel intended the colla parte violin part to continue until that point.

In bars 13-14 of f.48v. in B, Smith wrote 'Colla parte', and the sign for it, on the violin stave. But then he crossed out both markings, and added rests to all the remaining bars for the violins in this section until bar 22. Here the last three notes doubling the soloist's part (originally intended to show the ending of the 'colla parte' instruction) still remain. Then follows an independent violin part. Having cancelled Handel's 'colla voce' doubling from bar 13 until bar 22, Smith copied the three final notes of it in bar 22, before then writing out the

Andante

Fig.15(a)

Lbl, RM 20.e.12, f.35v.

The sign on line 2

for the

violins to continue

doubling the solo

part of 'Come ever-

smiling Liberty'.

Fig.15(b)

'Come, ever-smiling

Liberty'.

D-Hs, MA/1026,

Part One, f.48v.

The last line

shows the composer's

instruction on

Lbl, RM 20.e.12, f.35v.

ignored.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on ten staves. The tempo marking 'Andante' is written at the top left. The lyrics 'Come ever-smiling Liberty' are written across the staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The handwriting is in ink on aged paper.

Fig.15(c)

'Come, ever-smiling
Liberty'.

Lbl, RM 20.e.12, f.36.

The independent
violin figure

on stave 1.

The image shows a handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation is in a cursive, handwritten style. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is written on the first staff, with lyrics underneath: "Come, ever-smiling Liberty". The second staff continues the melody, with lyrics: "and with the bright sun". The third staff continues the melody, with lyrics: "and with the bright sun". The fourth staff continues the melody, with lyrics: "and with the bright sun". The fifth staff continues the melody, with lyrics: "and with the bright sun". The sixth staff continues the melody, with lyrics: "and with the bright sun". The seventh staff continues the melody, with lyrics: "and with the bright sun". The eighth staff continues the melody, with lyrics: "and with the bright sun". The ninth staff continues the melody, with lyrics: "and with the bright sun". The tenth staff continues the melody, with lyrics: "and with the bright sun".

49

Fig.15(d)

'Come ever-smiling Liberty'.
D-Hs, MA/1026, Part one, f.49.
The violin part on line 2 of
B, f.49 shows the three notes
indicating the end of the
colla voce which were not.
cancelled.

[shown * by me].

The image shows a handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation is in ink and includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The lyrics are written below the staves. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: 'Come ever-smiling Liberty'. The second staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: 'D-Hs, MA/1026, Part one, f.49.' The third staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: 'The violin part on line 2 of'. The fourth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: 'B, f.49 shows the three notes'. The fifth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: 'indicating the end of the'. The sixth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: 'colla voce which were not.'. The seventh staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: 'cancelled.'. The eighth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: '[shown * by me].'. The ninth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: 'The violin part on line 2 of'. The tenth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: 'B, f.49 shows the three notes'. The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style.

independent violin music, as it appeared in A. So those three notes in bar 22 should not, logically, be there. However, since Handel directed the oratorio from this score, it must be assumed that he either approved, or was unaware of this illogicality. It was published thus in W. Figs.15(a) - 15(d), pp.119-122 illustrate the details mentioned above.

33/27/18. Chorus: Fal'n is the Foe.

It is not at first clear to what the 'NB' on f.64 of A refers, as there is no corresponding cue elsewhere. From the musical evidence, and that in a later word-book,¹² I argue in Chapter 4 that Handel originally intended The March to be played here; hence the 'NB'.

-/68/-. Chorus: Hallelujah, Amen.

Rejoice, O Judah, Hallelujah, Amen.

Various interpretations have been made as to whether or not the opening fugal entry on f.129 of A is to be sung as a solo, or as the first choral entry by the basses. Clearly Handel required the bass soloist, not the choral basses, to announce the opening fugue subject. In the conducting score, which was used for many performances, there is not the slightest evidence that the first fugal entry was originally a choral one, or ever became one later. On f.46v. of B the bass soloist continues his solo with organ marked 'tasto solo' for two bars. Then on f.47, below a heading marked 'Chorus', the altos and tenors begin their entries. The instruction on f.129 of A is even more specific: 'entra il Coro' in the composer's own hand comes at the end of the bass soloist's 'Hallelujah, Amen'. It is

Fig.16

D-Hs, MA/1026,

Part Three, f.47.

'Hallelujah, Amen'.

The entry of the
chorus indicated.

47.

Chorus.

A handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, time signatures, and notes. The lyrics 'Hallelujah' are written in a cursive script below the staves, with some words appearing multiple times. The score is written in ink on aged paper.

part of an effective building up of banks of sound, beginning with the minimum of resources and leading to a climactic ending. Randall, Arnold and Chrysander, J.E. Best (Novello) and Walker in their editions all indicate that the chorus should enter two bars before Handel did (see Fig.7, p.82; Fig.16, p.124).

The Oratorio as First Performed

On the basis of evidence provided by my review of the Primary Sources I have devised CHART 3, which is in the Appendix. This shows the items used at the first performance on 1 April 1747, together with the role undertaken by the singers, their type of voice, and the key of each movement. The key, time signature and tempo of each item is also shown.

Having made alterations in A, mainly to correct details, as in 'O lovely Peace', Handel made no substantial further alterations before the first performance. The final state of A, as copied into B, was the version that was performed on 1 April 1747. This is relatively unusual. It was more frequent for there to be substantial last-minute alterations before the first performance.

However, following the initial performance, it was not long before changes were made to the original form of the work. These changes, and the existing evidence which reveals what these changes were, are considered in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Handel noted these dates in the autograph score on ffs.1, 56v., 98v. and 131v.
2. See Clausen, Händel's Direktionspartituren ('Handexemplare'), pp. 167-168, and Burrows, A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs, Preamble xvi.
3. As well as singing the solo items, there is the possibility that the soloists might also have sung in the choruses. (See Mp, M.S.Hd 4, vols 181-6, which have both solo and chorus parts on the same score.) However, we have no evidence of how much of each chorus the soloists sang. Therefore, I have not specified chorus movements in this chart, other than those mentioned above.
4. See Apel, Harvard Dictionary of Music, p.561.
5. 'Dis' implied D sharp or E flat in German, before the early 19th century (see The New Grove, vol. 5, p.487).
6. Clausen, op.cit., p.167, states that ff.23v.- 25v. are original folios that initially followed on from f.21.
7. Henry Theodore Reinhold.
8. Beard also sang in the duet, 'O never, never bow we down', instead of Sig^{ra} Galli, as we know from W.
9. Burrows, op.cit., p.132 Notes, shows that f.38 was not a continuation of the previous run of paper. It was an insertion.
10. That itself is an insertion. See Burrows, op.cit., p.133.

11. My numberings of the movements are in chronological order of their appearance in the primary sources. In HH, Band 2, p.307, the Dead March is labelled as '(4.)'. The category 'No.4', on p. 297 relates to 'Pious Orgies'. This suggests that the editors, like Dean, but not Chrysander, surmised that the Dead March derives from 'Pious Orgies' (see HDOM, p.480).

12. Bc, 783.3 , Oratorios E/1.

CHAPTER 4.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JUDAS MACCABAEUS SCORE: 1747-1750

Introduction

Judas Maccabaeus, having received its first performance at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden on Wednesday 1 April 1747, 'with a New Concerto',¹ was given five more performances in 1747. The third performance on 8 April was advertised as 'with Additions/and a New Concerto',² and that formula was repeated in the advertisements for subsequent performances. Handel revived the oratorio with six performances in 1748, the fourth and subsequent performances of the season being announced as 'with Additions and a Concerto'.³ The next revival was in 1750, with four further performances under Handel's direction. (Appendix Chart 4 gives the dates of all these performances.) During this period the work received various amendments to meet changing performance conditions from year to year.

In order to establish the pattern of Handel's successive versions of the oratorio during 1747-1750 it is necessary to draw on evidence from various sources, each of which can only provide partial testimony. The autograph score takes the story up to the time that the conducting score was copied. The conducting score was Handel's working score, used in the preparation of his performances. This score presents a complex picture, since material was added and removed at various stages, during an extended period of use that stretched from 1746 until 1774. Studies of paper

types used for insertions help to interpret some of the development of this document.⁴ But much of the important evidence for the period 1747-1750 has been removed from the score. Secondary manuscripts that were copied from the conducting score during the period might have been useful in supplying missing information, but their years of origin can rarely be dated accurately. The printed word-books sold in connection with Handel's performances should provide an important guide to the development of the score, but here there is a snag also. There are a number of early word-books all dated 1747, but none dated 1748. It seems that the '1747' word-book was re-issued for both seasons, but not for the 1750 season when a new edition was devised. The sources were subjected to careful critical examination by Winton Dean, and his interpretation of the results appeared in HDOM.⁵ Having subjected the sources to detailed re-examination, I now suggest an interpretation of the oratorio's evolution which refines and amends Dean's. I have paid careful attention to the word-books, and in this area I have been able to discover some fresh evidence that was not available to Dean. As a result, it is now possible to set the early revisions to Judas Maccabaeus into a more plausible sequence, and to re-write the timetable of these revisions with more confidence. This is particularly important with regard to the relationships between revisions that took place between one season and the next, and revisions that were indicated by the advertisements for mid-season performances 'with Additions'.

The Eight Issues of the 1747 Word-book

Successive issues of the '1747' word-book corrected mistakes in the printing of Thomas Morell's libretto. They also indicated changes made by Handel to the design of the oratorio. These changes were shown either by alterations to individual pages or by addenda slips supplied with the book. I have identified eight issues of this word-book, which I have designated from 1a. to 1h. The present locations of exemplars of these issues, with library call-marks, are as follows:

1a. Lbl. CUP 407. KK.26; F-Pn. VS.892.

1b. Bc. 783.3, Oratorios E/1.

1c. F-Pa. Ro.7703(2).

1d. Ckc. Mn.20.62.

1e. Lcm. XX.G.22. Vol II(9).

1f. Mp. B.R.310.1 Hd578(6).

1g. Lcm. XX.G.22. Vol.II(10), as originally published.

1h. Lcm. XX.G.22. Vol.11(10), with stuck on slip.

These issues are listed in what I believe to be their chronological order, based on evidence from details of textual changes, typographical changes, and changes concerning musical content. I have identified sixteen textual changes in these eight 1747 issues. Appendix Table I, TEXTUAL CHANGES IN THE LIBRETTO OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS lists the original readings as they appeared in the first issue ('original'), the changes that appeared in subsequent issues ('amendment'), and the readings of Larpent.

Appendix Table 2, TEXTUAL CHANGES IN THE 1747 ISSUES shows, in chart form, the evolution of the readings from Table 1's successive word-books bearing the date 1747 on the title-page. In the course of resetting the type for later issues, alterations were also made to the decorative bands, capital letters used at the beginning of each Part, and other features of typography. My analysis of these alterations is shown in Appendix Table 3, SOME TYPOGRAPHICAL FEATURES AND THEIR CHANGES.⁶

From Table 2 it can be seen that, with two exceptions, the earlier issues developed sequentially. Certain omissions and mistakes in issue 1a were corrected by means of a footnote on the addenda page to 1b. These alterations were incorporated into the main text of the succeeding issue. Addenda sheets' provided for issues 1e and 1f added items transferred from Joshua and Alexander Balus. The addenda sheet with issue 1g showed that the previous additions were no longer applicable, but items from the Occasional Oratorio, from Deborah and from Joshua were now to be inserted instead. The typographical changes (seen in Table 3) show more variations, but in the majority of cases they follow a sequence parallel to the changes of text.

Two variants in the text seem to be exceptions to the sequence shown in Table 2. These are item iv.('Come ever-smiling Liberty'), and item xvi.('O lovely Peace'). In a footnote correction in the addenda sheet of the second issue, they were both designated 'Air and Duet'. But in the third and successive issues this correction was not

sustained, and the movements were shown as *Airs*. Ostensibly, therefore, the duet versions appear to have been dropped: but in fact this was not so, as the following evidence shows.

'Come, ever-smiling Liberty' is known in two versions. Both are found in Handel's autograph score and in his conducting score. The duet version was a second thought added during composition. In Larpent the words of the air are written out in full after the recitative, 'To Heav'ns Immortal King we kneel' and before the following recitative, 'O Judas, may these noble views inspire'. Then, after the air, 'Tis Liberty, dear Liberty alone,' Larpent has a one-line entry: 'Duett:/Come ever smiling Liberty &c.'. But no mention of this insertion appeared in the first issue of the word-book. Yet the first printed edition of the music, that published by John Walsh on 1 May 1747,⁷ contained both versions: the air, on pp. 20-22, 'Sung by Sig^{ra} Gambarini'; the duet, 'Sung by Sig^{ra} Gambarini and Sig^{ra} Galli', on pp. 25-26. The presence of the singers' names suggests that both versions had indeed come to performance. Both versions also appear in later manuscript copies. Although this is uncertain evidence for their retention in all later revivals, it is possible that the two versions were both sung at some revivals, as well as at the first performances.

Two versions of 'O lovely Peace' (the air and the duet) also appear in the autograph and the conducting score. But Larpent and word-book issue 1a only gave the movement as an 'Air'. Apart from the footnote entry in the addenda

sheet provided for issue 1b, no word-book ever mentioned the duet. Yet in his edition Walsh only published the duet version. On page 66 of his edition, and above the music is printed, 'Duetto, Sig^{ra} Gambarini and Sig^{ra} Galli'. So it is likely that Handel used the duet version at the first performance.⁸ Two secondary manuscript copies also contain the duet.⁹ Therefore in respect of items iv and xvi, it would seem that the word-books (except 1b with its addenda sheet) were not entirely accurate.

From the word-books it can be surmised that Morell did not approve of any deviation from his own libretto. It is clear that he kept a sharp eye on what went into Watts' books. An explanatory footnote about the omission of 'O Liberty' appeared on page 5 in the first two issues: it is quoted in Table 1. Again, on page 14, all the issues have the following comment about the abbreviation of his libretto before the recitative, 'From Capharsalama':

'Several Incidents were introduced here by way of Messenger, and Chorus,/in order to make the Story more compleat, but it was thought they would make/ the Performance too long and therefore were not Set, and therefore not printed; / this being design'd, not as a finish'd Poem, but merely as an Oratorio.'

It is not hard to imagine that Morell disliked the intrusion of text by Samuel Humphreys from Deborah as an addition to his own in Judas Maccabaeus. He may have resented the fact that Handel had set as duets text that he had intended as airs. Possibly no one bothered to correct the printing error in the word-books, as Winton Dean suggested.¹⁰

Possibly Morell, in supplying Watts with his word-book material, deliberately ignored Handel's alternative settings of his words, although it seems more likely that he was simply unaware of them when he supplied the printer with the text. However, although not printed in 1c, it is clear that the 'Air and Duet' instruction in 1b should have applied in 1c and later issues. So the apparent reversion of these two items does not negate what is otherwise a perfectly logical sequential progression in the early issues. All the evidence confirms Dean's conclusion that 1a was the first issue of the word-book, which we may assume was printed for the first performance on Wednesday 1 April 1747.

Issue 1b of the 1747 Word-book

The main text of Issue 1b is closely related typographically to Issue 1a (see Appendix Table 3). The unique feature of Issue 1b is the accompanying sheet of addenda (see Fig.17, p.135). The footnotes to this addenda sheet list minor textual alterations that were incorporated into the main text of subsequent issues, with the exceptions of items IV and VI. The place of 1b in the sequence of word-book issues is therefore clearly established, and it must have followed soon after 1a.

The main part of the addenda sheet in Issue 1b gives the texts of movements that were added to the oratorio. Advertisements in The General Advertiser of 6, 7 and 8 April 1747,¹¹ all stated that the performance of Judas Maccabaeus to be given on 8 April would be 'with Additions and a New Concerto'. This is the first time that any additions were

Fig.17 The addenda sheet to Issue 1b.

PART I. *Before the last Chorus*, p. 6.

2d *Israelitish* Woman. RECITATIVE.

By that adorable Decree,
That Chaos cloth'd with Symmetry!
By that resistless Pow'r that made
Refulgent Brightness start from Shade!
That still'd contending Atoms Strife,
And spoke Creation into Life!
O thou supreme transcendent Lord,
Thy Succours to our Cries accord!

A I R.

*Choir of Angels all around thee
Watchful wait in radiant Throngs;
No Oppression shall confound thee,
Thou art guarded from all Wrongs.*

PART II. *After the first Chorus*, p. 7.

A I R.

*In Jehovah's awful Sight,
Haughty Tyrants are but Dust;
Those who glory in their Might,
Place in Vanity their Trust.*

After the Air, How vain is Man, &c. p. 9.

RECITATIVE.

Thus pleas'd is the Almighty to dispense,
In ways unknown to us, his Providence.

A I R.

*No more disconsolate I'll mourn,
No more sad Sackcloth wear;
From Chains to Freedom we return,
To Transport from Despair.*

PART III. *After the Air, With Honour, &c.* p. 15.

RECITATIVE.

And may this noble Ardour never cease,
Till God shall bless us with a lasting Peace.

A I R.

*All his Mercies I review,
Gladly with a grateful Heart;
And I trust he will renew
Blessings he did once impart.*

D. C. [By another Hand.]:

Corrig. p. 5. Air and Duet. Come ever smiling, &c. P. 7. l. 7. for Power read Provest. P. 9. read dress, and guidis. P. 12. l. 7. read awful Rod. P. 14. l. 4. read pure Strains. P. 16. Air and Duet:

advertised. Therefore, it seems most likely that the items mentioned in the addenda sheet to the second issue were the 'additions' inserted at the performance on 8 April, and probably retained for the following performances on 10, 13 and 15 April. Hitherto, different (and, we may surmise, later) alterations have been identified as these 'additions'. The addenda sheet to Issue 1b changes our view of what was performed in the last four performances of 1747, and also the chronology of other additional movements.

The main text in the addenda sheet shows that seven items were inserted. Four of these come from Deborah, composed and first performed in 1733. These were the recitative, 'By that adorable Decree,' and the first three airs. The remaining air was composed for Athalia(1733),¹² and had been used in the revival of Deborah in November 1744.¹³ The only new composition that would have been required are the couplets, presumably set as semplice recitatives, that introduce the last two airs.

There is now no musical evidence showing the addition of movements specified on the addenda sheet to issue 1b of the Judas Maccabaeus word-book. In particular there is no trace of them in the conducting score of this oratorio as it now exists, nor in the secondary manuscript copies. But since neither Handel nor Smith used the music again in any subsequent revivals of Judas Maccabaeus this is not surprising. In 1747 it would have been expedient for Handel to have had the items copied from a Deborah score, and inserted them into the Judas Maccabaeus conducting score. These additional movements would have been removed from

the score of Judas Maccabaeus when they were no longer relevant. As far as is known they were not needed after 1747.

Appendix Table 4 shows how the injection of the additions affected the structure of Judas Maccabaeus. The additional items are shown in bold type. It can be seen that the harmonic progression of the items in the first group would have been acceptable; those in group two are less so. The third and fourth groups each begin with an unidentified recitative, and therefore it is not possible to plot any harmonic progression within them: for the present we must assume that Handel composed suitable recitatives that have since been lost. Handel was not averse to adapting items from elsewhere to fit his current needs. He may have temporarily amended the beginning of the recitatives to give a smoother transition. The words for 'Choir of Angels' in the first group bear a close resemblance to 'Choirs of Angels' in Deborah. In the 1b addenda sheet to Judas Maccabaeus the text of this item has been reduced from six lines to four. But the words can be made to fit the Deborah music, as can be seen in Ex.3, pp.138-9. A repeat of the opening line of the new text fits the third and fourth bars of the solo part set in Deborah to 'lest oppression should confound thee'. In the middle section, a repeat of the lines 'No oppression shall confound thee', and three repeats of 'Thou art guided from all wrongs' would also fit the music. Even the word 'wrongs' in the latter example would appear three times in exactly the same places as it did in the earlier version.

Ex.3

1. 'Choirs of Angels' as in Deborah

2. A suggested setting of the text in
Judas Maccabaeus Issue 1b.

Handwritten musical notation for two choirs of angels. The first staff is for the 'bavil' choir, and the second is for the '2. choir'. Both are in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The notation includes treble clefs, key signatures, and various musical notes and rests.

watch-ful wait — in ra — diant things.
watch-ful wait — in ra — diant things.

Handwritten musical notation for two choirs of angels. The first staff is for the 'choirs of an-gels all', and the second is for the 'choir of An-gels all'. Both are in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The notation includes treble clefs, key signatures, and various musical notes and rests.

choirs of an-gels all a-round thee, lest op-pression shall be found —
choir of An-gels all a-round thee, lest op-pression shall be found —

— thee, watch-ful wait — in
— thee, watch-ful wait — in

Handwritten musical notation for two choirs of angels. The first staff is for the 'ra — diant things, watchful wait in', and the second is for the 'ra — diant things, watchful wait in'. Both are in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The notation includes treble clefs, key signatures, and various musical notes and rests.

ra — diant things, watchful wait in ra — diant things, choir of an — gels
ra — diant things, watchful wait in ra — diant things, choir of An — gels

all a-round thee, — lest op-pression shall be found —
all a-round thee, — choir of An-gels all a-round —

Ex. 3 contd.

The addenda sheet provides three other pieces of information. 'D.C.' after the final air suggests that this is a cue for a return to the first couplet for the Da Capo air: but this does not fit the music. 'All his Mercies' is not a Da Capo air: it is the middle section of 'Cease thy anguish' from Athalia, and clearly there was no intention that the first part of this ternary air should be performed. Possibly Handel intended bars 1-12 to act both as an introduction and a final ritornello with a Fine at bar 12, beat 1, as suggested in Ex. 4, pp. 141-2. In that case 'D.C.' would have been appropriate. Alternatively, the 'D.C.' may have been misplaced, having possibly been intended for 'Choir of Angels' which, presumably, was a Da Capo air. It would appear that there was a lack of liaison between the publishers and the musicians here. The second piece of information is the comment '[By another Hand.]'. This does not indicate that the music was by another composer, but that the texts were by a librettist other than Thomas Morell. The texts to both Athalia and Deborah were by Samuel Humphreys. The third, and most intriguing, comment appears above the first item. It states, '2d Israelitish Woman'. Since this recitative is followed by the air, 'Choir of Angels', presumably both should be sung by the same character. But so far there had been no Second Israelitish Woman in Judas Maccabaeus. None of the literary or the musical prime sources associated with this work had specified such a character. It seems very probable that all the additional items were intended for the same character, and indeed the implication is that they reflect the

Ex. 4

Suggested Da Capo for 'All his Mercies'

LARGHETTO

[Vln]

[FINE]

Ex. 4 contd.

Handwritten musical score for a vocal part. The lyrics are "All — his mer — cies etc". The notation includes a treble clef, a key signature of two flats (Bb, Eb), and a common time signature (C). The music features a vocal line with a melodic phrase and a piano accompaniment with chords and arpeggiated figures. A bracketed section is labeled "[Cont.]".

Handwritten musical score for a piano part. The tempo is marked "Tempo I". The lyrics are "blessings he des once in — part.". The notation includes a treble clef, a key signature of two flats (Bb, Eb), and a common time signature (C). The music features a piano line with chords and arpeggiated figures. A bracketed section is labeled "[Vin.]".

Handwritten musical score for a piano part. The notation includes a treble clef, a key signature of two flats (Bb, Eb), and a common time signature (C). The music features a piano line with chords and arpeggiated figures. A bracketed section is labeled "[Cont.]".

introduction of an extra singer into the cast.

As was noted in Chapter 3, the original cast for Judas Maccabaeus was Elisabetta de Gambarini (soprano), Caterina Galli (second soprano), John Beard (tenor), and Henry Theodore Reinhold (bass). Gambarini sang the part of the Israelitish Woman, whilst Galli sang that of the Israelitish Man. The new singer for the '2nd Israelitish Woman' was presumably either a soprano or an alto. The type of voice may, perhaps, be surmised by looking at the original contexts for the airs. 'By that adorable Decree', 'Choirs of Angels' and 'In Jehovah's awful Sight' were all composed for the character of Deborah (soprano) and 'No more disconsolate' for the Israelitish Woman in Deborah, also a soprano. 'All his Mercies' was originally for Josabeth (soprano) in Athalia. There is therefore a strong probability that the extra singer was a soprano. But in the 1744 Deborah revival some of the movements had been transposed down for Mrs Cibber, who sang the part of Jael. These included 'No more disconsolate' and 'All his Mercies'. But 'By that adorable', 'Choirs of Angels' and 'In Jehovah's awful sight' remained with Deborah. On balance it seems most probable that the extra singer for Judas in 1747 was a soprano, though the possibility that the other items were also transposed for an alto remains.

An alternative view might be taken about who sang the part of the '2d Israelitish Woman' mentioned in the addenda sheet to issue 1b, if the evidence from the folios in the conducting score is interpreted in another way. By reallocating some of the items among the original cast, all

the music could have been covered by those soloists. Evidence of changes made to items originally allocated to the Israelitish Man are to be found in two places in the conducting score of Judas Maccabaeus. On f.52v. of Part Two, a number of the soloists' names have been written above the music for the recitative, 'Ye Worshippers of God': amongst these 'Galli' is written twice. The character name of 'Judas' (the role sung by John Beard in the first performance) is also there. This recitative is followed in the conducting score and in the word-books by the duet, 'O never, never bow we down'. But the word-book implication is that the duet should be sung by the same characters (Israelitish Man and Israelitish Woman) who had sung the previous recitative. But if Beard and Galli sang the recitative, as suggested by the annotations on f.52v., then at some time, presumably, they also sang the duet. This could have been a last minute change to accommodate the 'additions' mentioned on the 1b addenda sheet.¹⁴

It is possible that another last-minute change was made to the recitative, 'See, see yon Flames'. According to Issue 1a of the word-book, it was designed to be sung by the Israelitish Man. Yet in the conducting score, on f.6, both 'Is. Man' and 'Galli' have been crossed out, and replaced by 'Simon' and 'Reinhold'. Henry Theodore Reinhold died in 1751. Therefore this annotation must have applied to one or more of the earlier performances. Possibly these annotations indicate last minute changes made before the first performance. Alternatively, they could suggest that Caterina Galli sang the part of the Second Israelitish Woman

for the later performances in 1747, but reverted to her original role from 1748 onwards. In the second performance, therefore, Messrs Beard and Reinhold could well have sung some items originally allocated to her.

The Remaining Issues of the 1747 Word-book

From the sequence of word-books tabulated in Appendix Tables 1 and 2, it would seem that Issue 1c applies to the first performances of the 1748 revival. Thus it was at the first performance on Friday 26 February 1748 that 'O Liberty' was restored to Judas Maccabaeus, not on Wednesday 8 April 1747, as has previously been assumed.¹⁵ Perhaps it is not surprising that 'additions' were not advertised in 1748 for the first three performances. The incorporation of 'O Liberty' had already been mentioned in a footnote on page five of the previous issues. So there would have been little point in advertising its inclusion, or the fact that the Deborah and Athalia items used for the last four performances in 1747 had been dropped. Issue 1d lists the same musical items as does 1c. However, as can be seen from Table 2 and Table 3, certain textual and typographical changes were made in 1d, in an evolutionary process which suggests that 1d came later than 1c. It is likely, therefore, that issue 1d was used for the second or third performances in 1748; those on 2 and 4 March.

The next word-book in the sequence, Issue 1e, included an addenda sheet with the texts of additional movements. This refers to the performance on 1 April 1748, advertised in The General Advertiser of 31 March and 1 April as being

'With additions and a Concerto'. Movements from Joshua and Alexander Balus, both revived in March 1748, were incorporated in this revival of Judas Maccabaeus. The airs, 'Pow'rful Guardians' from Alexander Balus; ¹⁶ and 'Happy, Oh thrice happy we' and 'Oh! had I Jubal's sacred Lyre,' from Joshua appeared on the addenda sheet of issue 1e (see Fig.18, p.147). It seems, therefore, that it was provided for the performance given on 1 April 1748. Issue 1f contains the libretto of the same musical items as issue 1e. Again, however, the evolution of the textual and typographical changes in this issue that I have shown in Tables 2 and 3 would suggest that this was used for one or both of the two final performances in 1748 given on 4 or 7 April.

Issue 1g had a two-sided addenda sheet (see Fig.19(a), p.148; Fig. 19(b), p.149). This specified that the following 'Additional Songs' (i.e.insertions) were to be added to those items already in the 1747 word-book:

1. In Part One, the recitative, 'O Judas, may these just Persuits inspire' (27/-/),¹⁷ the air, 'Endless Fame'(28/-/-), and the recitative, 'Haste we, my Brethren'(31/25/-) to be inserted before 'Hear us, O Lord'(32/26/17), the final chorus of Part One.
2. In Part Two, the recitative, 'Well may we hope' (37/30/A), and the air, 'Flowing Joys' (38/-/20a)¹⁸ to be inserted after the air, 'So rapid thy course is'(36/29/19).

Fig.18 The addenda sheet to Issues 1e and 1f.

ADDITIONAL SONGS, Page 14 & 15.

After ----- all the ragful Train, pag. 14, l. 14.

A. I. R.

Powerful Guardians of all Nature,
O preserve my beautiful Love;
Keep from Insult the dear Creature,
Virtue sure hath Charms to move.

After ----- OF Victories yet ungain'd, pag. 14, l. 21.

A. I. R.

Happy, Oh thrice happy we,
Who enjoy sweet Liberty!
To your Sons this Gem secure,
As bright, as ample, and as pure.

After ----- and set the Injur'd free, pag. 15, l. ult.

A. I. R.

Oh! had I Jubal's sacred Lyre,
Or Miriam's tuneful Voice!
To Sounds like his I wou'd aspire,
In Songs like her's rejoice:
My humble Strains but faintly show,
How much to Heav'n, and Thee I owe.

Fig.19(a) The two-sided addenda sheet of 'Additional Songs' for both Issue 1g and Edition No.2 of 1750.

ADDITIONAL SONGS

Before the Chorus, p. 6.

RECITATIVE

Israelitish Man.

O Judas, may these just Pursuits inspire
All Israel with thy true heroic Fire.

A I R.

" Endless Fame thy Name adorning,
Glory brighter than the Morning
Shall reward thy faithful Care;
Children's Children late descending,
Israel's Cause like Thee defending,
Shall thy glorious Worth declare.

RECITATIVE

Haste we, my Brethren, haste we to the Field,
Dependent on the Lord our Strength and Shield.

After the Air — So rapid thy Course is, p. 7.

RECITATIVE

Israelitish Man.

Well may we hope our Freedom to receive,
Such sweet transporting Views thy Actions give.

A I R.

THE AIR

" Flowing Joy do now surround me,
Rising pure without Control;
No Despair can ever wound me,
While thy Presence warms my Soul.

After — all the rageful Train, p. 14, L. 14.

A I R.

" All his Mercies I review,
Gladly with a grateful Heart;
And I trust he will renew
Blessings he did once impart.

Before the Chorus — Sing unto God, p. 14.

Chorus of Youths.

" See, the conquering Hero comes,
Sound the Trumpet, beat the Drums:
Sports prepare, the Laurel bring,
Songs of Triumph to him sing.

Chorus of Virgins.

" See the Godlike Youth advance,
Breathe the Flutes, and lead the Dance:
Myrtle Wreaths, and Roses bring,
To deck the Hero's Brows divine.

The MARCH

Fig.19(b) Pages 5 of Issue 1g and Edition No.2.

JUDAS MACCHABÆUS. 5

A I R.

*Come, ever-smiling Liberty,
And with thee bring thy jocund Train;
For thee we pant, and sigh for thee,
With whom eternal Pleasures reign.*

R E C I T A T I V E.

Israelitish Man.

*These noble Views, O Judas, shall inspire
Our eager Souls with thy heroic Fire.*

A I R.

*'Tis Liberty, dear Liberty alone,
That gives fresh Beauty to the Sun:
That makes all Nature look more gay,
And lovely Life with Pleasure steal away.*

C H O R U S.

*Lead on, lead on, Judah disdains
The galling Load of hostile Chains.*

R E C I T A T I V E.

Judas.

*So will'd my zealous Father, now at rest,
In the eternal Mansions of the Blest;
" Can ye behold, said he, the Miseries
" In which the long-insulted Judah lies?*

" Can

JUDAS MACCHABÆUS. 5

A I R.

*O Liberty, thou choicest Treasure,
Seat of Virtue, Source of Pleasure;
Life without thee knows no Blessing,
No Endearment worth caring.*

A I R.

*Come, ever-smiling Liberty,
And with thee bring thy jocund Train;
For thee we pant, and sigh for thee,
With whom eternal Pleasures reign.*

A I R.

*'Tis Liberty, dear Liberty alone,
That gives fresh Beauty to the Sun:
That makes all Nature look more gay,
And lovely Life with Pleasure steal away.*

C H O R U S.

*Lead on, lead on, Judah disdains
The galling Load of hostile Chains.*

R E C I T A T I V E.

Judas.

*So will'd my zealous Father, now at rest,
In the eternal Mansions of the Blest;
" Can ye behold, said he, the Miseries
" In which the long-insulted Judah lies?*

" Can

3. In Part Three, the recitative, 'From Capharsalama' (66/57/AB)¹⁹ to be truncated, and the air, 'All his Mercies I review' (68/-/-) inserted,²⁰ later, 'See, the conqu'ring Hero comes', 'See the Godlike Youth advance' (72//58ABC), and The March (11c/59/32a),²¹ to be inserted before the chorus, 'Sing unto God' (73/60/33).

Issue 1g continues the sequence of textual and typographical changes, as can be seen from Tables 2 and 3 in the Appendix. There were no performances of Judas Maccabaeus during the 1749 Lenten season, so it would seem that Issue 1g applies to the 1750 revivals.

From the newspaper advertisements no help is forthcoming to suggest when the items on the 1g addenda sheet came into operation. Boyce's Serenata Solomon was given at the King's Theatre at 12 noon on Wednesday 28 March 1750, and Judas Maccabaeus followed that evening at Covent Garden, yet no 'Additions' were advertised as an inducement to the audience to attend Handel's oratorio. Nor is any help provided in the primary musical sources. So it would appear that the items in the 1g addenda sheet apply to the earliest performances in 1750, those on 9 and 14 March. But here there is a complication. A new edition was published in 1750. There is a copy in BENcoker, reference C4. This new edition had a few presentational variations from its immediate predecessor²², but in its content it was exactly the same. The list of Additional Songs on the two inserted sheets provided for both publications was identical (see Exs 19(a) and 19(b), pp.148-9).

A number of possibilities come to mind in attempting to explain this.²³ The most plausible seems that Watts' had old stocks of the word-book left over from 1748, and that he used them to supplement the 1750 edition. It seems most unlikely that significant new material, including the Joshua choruses associated with 'See, the conqu'ring Hero comes' and The March, would have been introduced for the final performance of the 1748 Lenten Oratorio season on 7 April. If so, such major additions would surely have been given extra publicity in The General Advertiser. As it was, the same announcement, 'With Additions and a Concerto', sufficed for all the later performances from 1 April in the 1748 season.

The first item on the sheet of Additional Songs in Issue 1g was 'O Judas, may these just Persuits inspire'. Hence two versions of the recitative now appeared in this issue: 'These noble views' in the main text, and its variant, 'O Judas' on the addenda sheet. In the conducting score there are also two, albeit slightly different, versions. However, both these have variations that suggest they were never played in the same performance, not even in the earliest 1750 revivals. The original version on f.51 (copied from f.37 in the autograph score) begins in F# major and ends in B major, to lead into the E major air, 'Tis Liberty'. Although the second line of the text of this recitative in the conducting score ('All Israel with thy true heroic fire') is identical in both versions, the first line varies slightly. Originally it was 'O Judas may these noble views inspire'. But in the later version, on f.68v.,

the text was changed to 'O Judas may thy just Persuits inspire'.

Additionally, the music was given a key change in the later version, obviously to lead into a different air. The recitative now began in F major and ended in Bb. But, owing to subsequent changes, no other evidence remains in the conducting score to reveal what air followed the later version. Only the recitative 'Haste we' follows on f.69. Over the years this was used to link a number of airs ('Endless Fame', 'May balmy Peace' and 'Far brighter than the morning') to the final chorus of Part One until it was discarded, according to word-book evidence, for a late 1762 revival. If the two versions were not played at the same performance, as the evidence suggests, then it appears that the retention of the recitative, 'These noble Views' on page 5 in Issue 1g was a mistake. This was recognised in the 1750 edition, where it was removed from page 5 of that word-book (see Fig.19(b), p.149).

The second item on the 1g addenda sheet was originally the air, 'Endless Fame' (one of the 1732 additions to Esther). But on the copy now in the Royal College of Music library a slip with the text of the air, 'May balmy Peace' ²⁴ was pasted over 'Endless Fame'. This would suggest either that there was a last-minute change of air here at an early 1750 performance or, more likely, that 'Endless Fame' was superseded by 'May balmy Peace' at a later performance, or performances, that season, possibly those on 28 and 30 March. If that is true, then it may be argued that the Lcm copy is in fact the eighth issue of the 1747 word-books.

I have, therefore, designated it '1h'. Appendix Table 5 summarises my general conclusions about the performances to which the eight issues of the 1747 word-book apply.

Three items connected with Judas Maccabaeus during the period 1747-1750 require clarification. These are i. the Air, 'O Liberty', ii. The March in Judas Maccabaeus and iii. the Recitative, 'From Capharsalama'.

The Air, 'O Liberty'

Through the inclusion of an air with this text in the Occasional Oratorio both Victor Schoelcher²⁵ and Winton Dean²⁶ were led to believe that Thomas Morell provided the libretto for that oratorio. It was not until 1972, when correspondence between Charles Jennens and Edward Holdsworth was auctioned at Christie's,²⁷ that it was discovered that the libretto for the Occasional Oratorio was the work of Newburgh Hamilton. Even in 1977, Howard E. Smither was similarly led astray,²⁸ as was Christopher Hogwood in 1984.²⁹ Handel in fact wrote two separate but musically closely-related settings of the air, and it is now possible to trace the history of their composition and use in more detail.

There are two versions of 'O Liberty'; one in Bb with a longer ending, and the other in A major. The Bb version, with a three-bar ending for violins, viola and bassi, is in both the autograph score³⁰ and the conducting score³¹ of the Occasional Oratorio. Walsh published this in his edition of that work³² (see Fig.20(a), Fig.20(b), Fig.20(c), pp.154-5). This must be the earliest version, used for the

Fig. 20(a)

The extended ending of the Bb version of 'O Liberty' in the autograph score of the Occasional Oratorio, Lbl, RM 20.f.3, f.62v.

The image shows a handwritten musical score on ten staves. The lyrics are written below the staves. The first staff has the lyrics "no carceris vincula no carceris vincula". The second staff has the lyrics "no carceris vincula no carceris vincula". The third staff has the lyrics "no carceris vincula no carceris vincula". The fourth staff has the lyrics "no carceris vincula no carceris vincula". The fifth staff has the lyrics "no carceris vincula no carceris vincula". The sixth staff has the lyrics "no carceris vincula no carceris vincula". The seventh staff has the lyrics "no carceris vincula no carceris vincula". The eighth staff has the lyrics "no carceris vincula no carceris vincula". The ninth staff has the lyrics "no carceris vincula no carceris vincula". The tenth staff has the lyrics "no carceris vincula no carceris vincula".

Fig.20(b) The ending of 'O Liberty' in the conducting score

of the Occasional Oratorio in D-Hs, MA/1033, Part Two, f.1v.

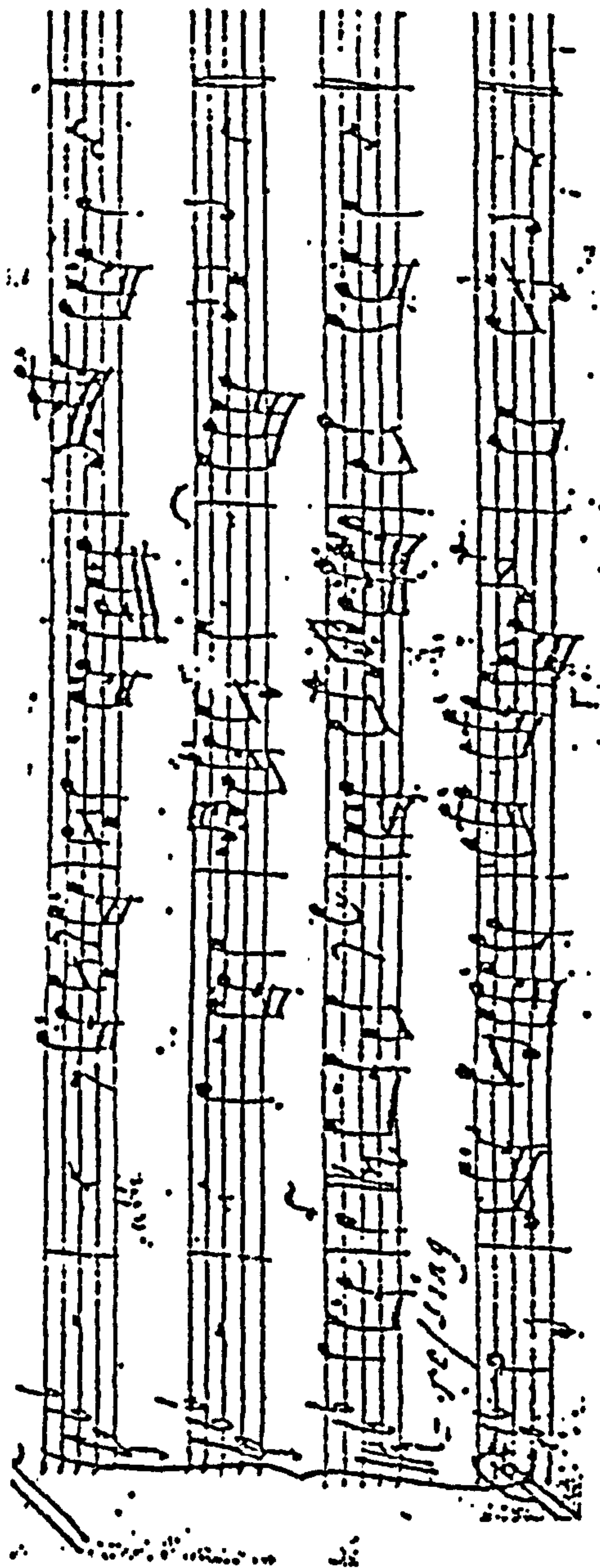
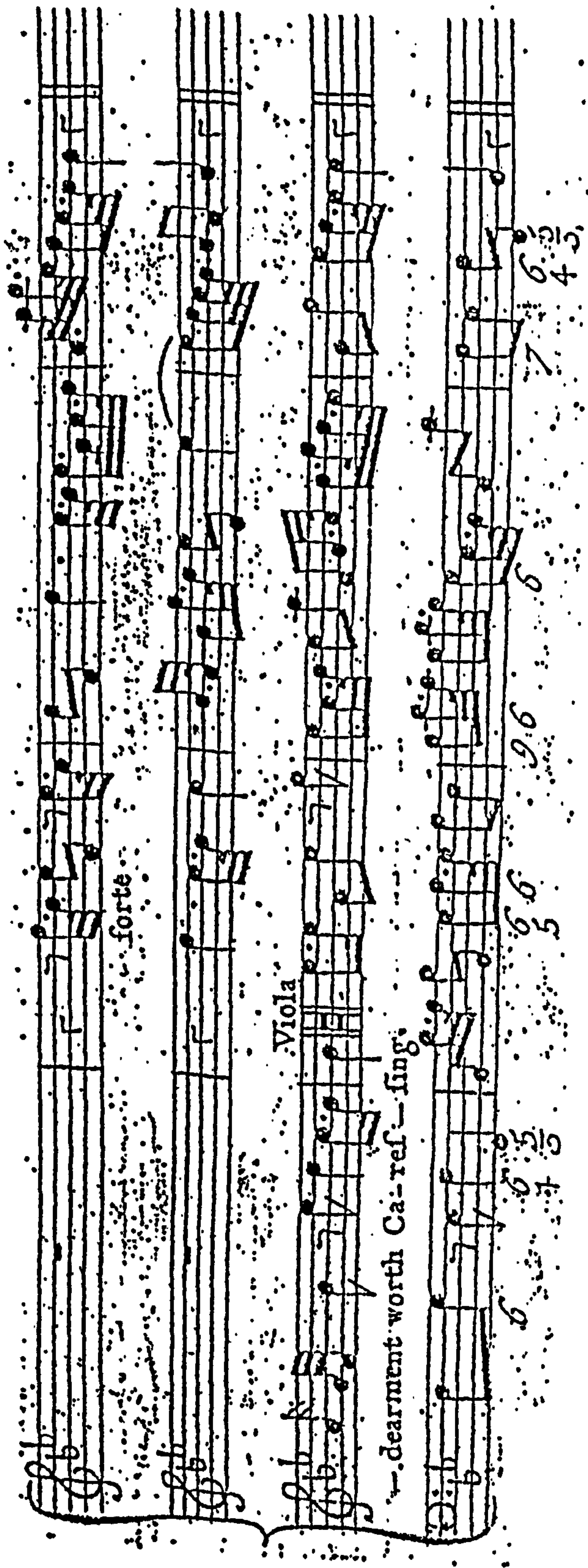


Fig.20(c)

The ending of 'O Liberty' on p.37 of the 1746 Walsh edition of the Occasional Oratorio.



first performance of the Occasional Oratorio on 14 February 1746.

A manuscript copy of the A major version in Handel's own hand is in the Fitzwilliam Museum Library, Cambridge.³³ See Fig.21(a), p.157. It has a short ending of only one bar and one note for 'cello and continuo. This A major version was obviously intended for Judas Maccabaeus because at the end Handel wrote '6/8 Segue', implying that the air, 'Come, ever-smiling Liberty' was to follow. This version, as has been noted above, was probably not used in Judas Maccabaeus until 26 February 1748. It could not have been written for the Occasional Oratorio, either for the first performances in 1746, or for the revival in 1747. Not only did it differ in key and ending, but the Occasional Oratorio 'O Liberty' is followed by the recitative, 'Who trusts in God'. That the A major version with the short ending is the correct one for Judas Maccabaeus is confirmed by the version in the conducting score of Judas Maccabaeus on f. 47, also written by the composer. It, too, is in A major and has the short 'cello ending (see Fig.21(b),p.157). Two secondary copies of Judas Maccabaeus also have this ending for 'O Liberty'.³⁴ It would appear that this version of 'O Liberty' with the short ending was the only one used in Handel's performances of Judas Maccabaeus.

But in another manuscript library copy of this oratorio now in the British Library, dating from 1766,³⁵ the Bb version of this air with the longer ending was copied (see Fig 21(c),p.158). It is difficult to understand

Fig.21(a) The ending of the A major version of 'O Liberty' in Judas Maccabaeus in Handel's manuscript,

in Cfm, MU.MS. 259, p. 54.

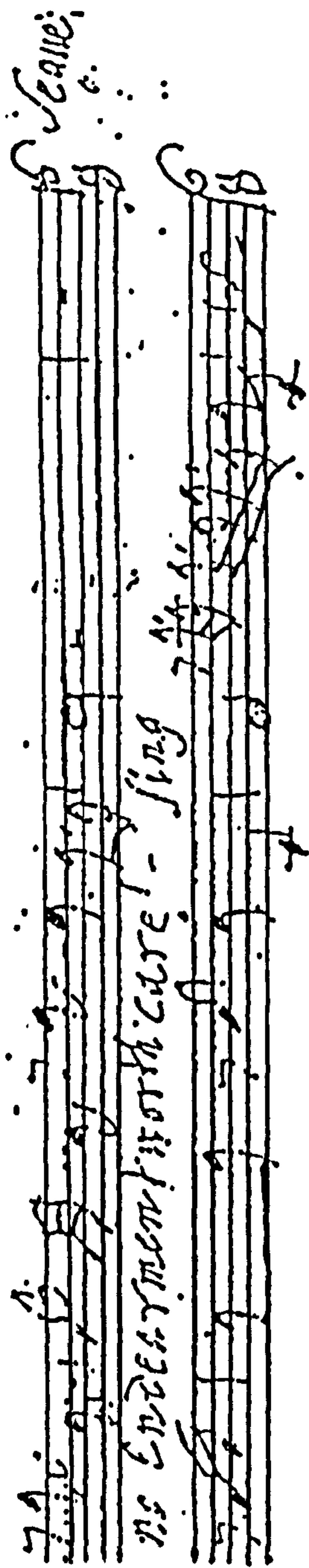


Fig.21(b) The ending of the A major version of 'O Liberty' in the conducting score of Judas

Maccabaeus, D-Hs, MA/1026, Part One, f.47.



Fig.21(c) The 'Smith Collection' copy of Judas Maccabaeus,
with the Bb version and the extended ending used
in the Occasional Oratorio on Lbl, RM 18.f.1, f.47.

This image shows a handwritten musical score for the piece 'Judas Maccabaeus' from the 'Occasional Oratorio'. The score is written on multiple staves, with lyrics in cursive script. The lyrics are: "dearment no endearment with carest my no on", "dearment no endearment with carest my", and "unfals". The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The handwriting is in ink on aged paper, and the overall appearance is that of a historical manuscript.

why the wrong version was copied here, since the preceding and succeeding items, as in the conducting score, are in E major and A major respectively. It might be conjectured that the younger Smith was using the Occasional Oratorio version, suitably transposed down, in his Judas Maccabaeus revivals, but that the copyist transcribed the air from the conducting score of the Occasional Oratorio³⁶ without transposition. The extended ending for the A major version of 'O Liberty' in Judas Maccabaeus has long been accepted, wrongly, as that associated with the composer. The editions of music from Judas Maccabaeus of Randall (1769), Bland (c.1780), Harrison (1784 and 1786), Wright (1785), Longman (ed.Arnold, 1789), Preston (1802), Novello (1848), Cramer, Beale (ed.Macfarren, for the English Handel Society, 1855), Breitkopf und Härtel (ed.Chrysander, for the German Handel Gesellschaft, 1866; see Fig.21(d), p.160), Bagster (c.1901), Novello (ed.West, 1903) and Eulenburg GmbH (ed.Walker, 1971) - all have the longer ending attached to the A major version. Dean described the three bar coda as a memorable stroke of orchestration, without realising, apparently, that this version was not used in the score of Judas Maccabaeus. He mentions the version with the shorter ending, but in the context of the Fitzwilliam manuscript.³⁷ Walker in his edition of Judas Maccabaeus gives the Bb version with the longer ending in his Anhang,³⁸ without any mention that this was used only by Handel in the Occasional Oratorio. Even during the present decade, in performances of Judas Maccabaeus using 'authentic' forces, the longer ending has been wrongly used. ³⁹

Fig. 21(d) Chrysander's Händel-Gesellschaft edition,
of Judas Maccabaeus, with the wrong (extended)
ending of 'O Liberty' on p.47.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

-deu-ment worth er-ress-ing.
Freude wird der Stir-brue.

(trill.)

mf

The image shows a musical score for three instruments: Violino I, Violino II, and Viola. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The lyrics are in German: "-deu-ment worth er-ress-ing. Freude wird der Stir-brue." The music features a melodic line in the violins and a supporting line in the viola. There is a trill marked "(trill.)" and a mezzo-forte "mf" dynamic marking. The score is from Chrysander's Händel-Gesellschaft edition of Judas Maccabaeus, page 47.

The March in Judas Maccabaeus

For Judas Maccabaeus Handel used 'The March'⁴⁰ in two keys; in G major in the oratorio (movement 11A/-/), and in F major in the concerto associated with it.

Evidence in the primary and secondary sources suggest that, at various times, the G major version was used in three places in the oratorio: in Part One after the chorus, 'We come in bright array', in Part Two after the chorus, 'Fal'n is the Foe', and in Part Three after the sequence of movements connected with 'See, the conqu'ring Hero comes'. From this evidence, using a process of elimination, it is also possible to deduce, albeit in reverse chronological order, where and when the G major March was inserted. The 'Additional Songs' addenda sheet provided with both the Issue 1g of the word-book and for the 1750 Edition reveals when 'The March'⁴¹ was first inserted to follow 'See the conqu'ring Hero comes'. These sheets were supplied for the performances on 9 and 14 March 1750 (see Appendix Table 5). Thereafter, both during Handel's life and after his death, during the period from 1760 until 1774, when the younger J.C.Smith was responsible for the London revivals of Judas Maccabaeus, 'The March' was always inserted here.⁴² It follows, therefore, that its insertion in any other part of the oratorio was made before 1750.

Although the music for 'The March' does not appear in the autograph score, there is evidence there that Handel, whilst composing the oratorio, originally intended it to be placed after the chorus, 'Fal'n is the Foe', near the beginning of Part Two. At this place, on f.64 of Part

Two, he wrote an 'NB' (his customary warning note to his amanuensis) and followed it with an alla breve sign, and then with what appears to be a treble clef.

Fig.22(a) Handel's instruction, on Lbl, RM 20.e.12, f.64, to insert the alla breve March in Part Two.



But this instruction (presumably to insert the alla breve March there) was not followed in the corresponding place in the conducting score.⁴³ However, in three secondary manuscript copies ⁴⁴ 'The March' does appear in this place, thereby providing evidence that at some time this was where it was indeed performed.

The addenda sheet provided for Issue 1b of the word-book specifies that the air, 'In Jehovah's awful Sight' should follow the first chorus on page seven of the word-book ('Fal'n is the Foe'), not 'The March'. This would seem to imply that at the time of the issue of 1b, (the third performance in 1747 according to my reckoning) the G major March had not been inserted after the opening chorus of Part Two, nor had it yet found its later place in Part Three. There are, however, two clues to help us date the earliest insertion. One of these was provided by John Walsh.

Walsh published his edition of Judas Maccabaeus on Friday 1 May 1747.⁴⁵ In it, 'The March' was not placed in its 1747 position in the oratorio, but was printed at the very end of the work in a two-stave version (see Fig.22(b),p.164). Since it was most unlikely to have been performed there, its position in Walsh's edition indicates that it was added after all the other items had been prepared for publication.⁴⁶ This suggests that it could well have been one of the additions advertised for the third performance on 8 April. A second clue, and one which points to where 'The March' might have been inserted in 1747, is provided by a secondary manuscript copy now in the Royal College of Music library.⁴⁷ Here 'The March' is placed in Part One, where it follows the chorus, 'We come in bright array'. It would seem, therefore, that its removal to the second insertion (in Part Two, where Handel originally intended it) took place sometime in 1748, probably at the first performance that season on 26 February, though this received no mention in word-book 1c.

There is a manuscript of the G major March in a wind-band scoring in the Fitzwilliam Museum Library. It is in the composer's hand and is scored for oboes, bassoons and horns.⁴⁸ However, the 'Smith Collection' score in the British Library,⁴⁹ a secondary manuscript copy of Judas Maccabaeus, is scored for two horns, two violins (doubled by oboes), viola (doubling violin 1) and continuo. As can be seen from Appendix Table 6, THE LOCATION OF 'THE MARCH IN JUDAS MACCABAEUS' IN ITS G MAJOR VERSION, other secondary manuscript scores also have 'The March' with similar

Fig.22(b) 'The March' as published
in the Walsh edition of
Judas Maccabaeus in 1747.

Marche

The musical score is written for two staves, likely representing a piano and a lute or guitar. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The score consists of five systems of two staves each. The first system is labeled 'Marche' in a cursive script. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. There are several trills marked with 'tr' above the notes. The score ends with a double bar line and repeat signs on the final staff.

instrumentation,⁵⁰ and include the directions either 'March with the side drum' or 'with the side drum' (see Table 6). So it is clear that the version used in the oratorio itself was not the wind-band version, but that for two horns, strings (doubled by oboes), side drum and continuo. The novel use of the side-drum in the oratorio may have been one contribution to the popularity of 'The March'. Nowhere was any music provided for that instrument, but this is not surprising, since it was customary for percussion players in the eighteenth-century to improvise such a part. Percussionists like the celebrated Joseph Woodbridge⁵¹ had probably been trained in military bands to do this.

A summary of the evidence for the placing of the March, and the conclusions I have drawn from it, is given in Appendix Table 6. The viability of the G major March in its three positions in the oratorio is shown in Appendix Table 7, THE STRUCTURAL EFFECT OF 'THE MARCH' IN G MAJOR.

'The March' in its F major form is also associated with Judas Maccabaeus, but not in the oratorio itself. It was an addition made to provide a new final movement to the original form of the F major Concerto a due cori (HWV334).⁵² The earliest version of that concerto was played between Parts Two and Three of the oratorio;⁵³ it was the 'new concerto' advertised in The General Advertiser prior to the first performance of Judas Maccabaeus on 1 April 1747. The addition of the March in F to it probably dates from 1748.⁵⁴

The F major March was also used as the final movement in two versions of an organ concerto (HWV 305^a and HWV 305^b). The first of these was originally a concerto for solo organ and strings⁵⁵ dating from the same period as the original form of the Concerto a due cori.⁵⁶ The organ and strings version was later transformed by the composer into a concerto for solo organ.⁵⁷ These two organ concertos derived some movements from the Concerto a due cori,⁵⁸, but there is no evidence that either of the organ concertos was played as entr'acte music in the oratorio.

The Recitative, 'From Capharsalama'

It can be seen from the copy of the text of this movement (66/57/AB), shown in Chapter 2, that it was originally a nineteen-line recitative. From the explanatory footnote at the beginning of this movement in the first printed word-book (see p.133 above), we may surmise that Handel had shortened his working text during composition. What the complete working text was originally we do not know. There are, however, four lines of textual remnants. In the autograph score Handel originally set the words:

Repeat your songs, my Brethren,

Judah's Dread and Spoiler great Antiochus is dead:
These were later crossed out (see Fig.23(a),p.167), and they do not appear in any other primary source. There is no reference in the autograph or conducting scores, nor in Larpent, to lines 9 and 10 which were published in the first word-book. These were:

Fig.23(a) The original version of 'From Capharsalama' on

Lbl, RM 20.e.12, f.107.

LIRA - - - phic melody to make inebriate/brain of Sep's son/aa

I see the white flowers

I see the white flowers

I see the white flowers

I see the white flowers

Nor could the bold Arabians save

Their Chief, Timotheus from a Coward's Grave.

The revised original version of the recitative is in the autograph score on f.107 and f.107v. (see Figs 23(a) and 23(b), pp.167-8). It was a single unit of 27 bars which began in C major, following on from the Bb major air 'So shall the Lute and Harp awake' (65/56/31). The recitative ended in A major and led into the D major chorus, 'Sing unto God' (73/60/33). As such it was given at the early performances.

In 1748 and 1750 the recitative underwent a series of changes in order to allow the insertion of items into it.

For the later performances in 1748, on 1, 4, and 7 April, the recitative was split into three sections:

- i. Lines 1-8: 'From Capharsalama' to 'vanquished all the rageful Train'.
- ii. Lines 11-15: 'Yet more' to 'Of Victories yet ungain'd'.
- iii. Lines 16-19: 'But lo! the Conqueror comes' to 'That threaten'd desolation to the Land'.

This was done to allow the air, 'Pow'rful Guardians', movement 67/-/A, to be inserted between the first two sections. Between the second and third sections came the air, 'Happy, Oh thrice happy we', movement 70/-/-(see Fig.18,p.147). Musical changes to the original setting of the recitative also had to be made to accommodate these insertions. In the conducting score, section i. appears on f.11v. in the form used in later 1748 revivals (see Fig.23(c), p.170). Alterations were made to allow the

insertion of the G major air, 'Powerful Guardians' on f.12. Section ii. then continues on what is now f.17 (see Fig.23(d), p.171). Then the G minor air, 'Happy, Oh thrice happy' was inserted; but it is no longer present in the conducting score. Section iii. of the recitative continues on f.17, and ends in A major.

For the 1750 performances the Bb air, 'All his mercies' (68/-/-) replaced 'Pow'rful Guardians' (67/-/-) after section i. of the recitative. Then came section ii. on the inserted f.17. But no air was performed here in 1750. On f.15, section iii. was rewritten for the bass soloist, using the bass clef for his part (see Fig.23(e), p.173). Both sections now ended in D major, the latter to lead into the inserted 'See the conq'ring hero comes' (72/58/A), as the 'Additional Songs' sheet for Issue 1g and Edition 2 shows (see Fig.19(a), p.148).

Appendix Chart 7 lists the various performing versions of the recitative and its accompanying airs, showing the key changes that were necessary to allow the insertions. Later alterations made to this recitative, recorded in Chapter 5, are also shown in Appendix Chart 7.

Confusion, both in the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, has arisen as a result of editors not understanding the evolution of this recitative. Arnold, in his edition of Judas Maccabaeus, produced a full score which had the 1747 A major ending of the recitative (instead of its later D major version) followed by the 1750 'Joshua' G major choruses.⁵⁹ Arthur Walker fell into the same trap in his 1971 Eulenburg edition.⁶⁰

Fig. 23(e)

The form of

'From Capharsalama'

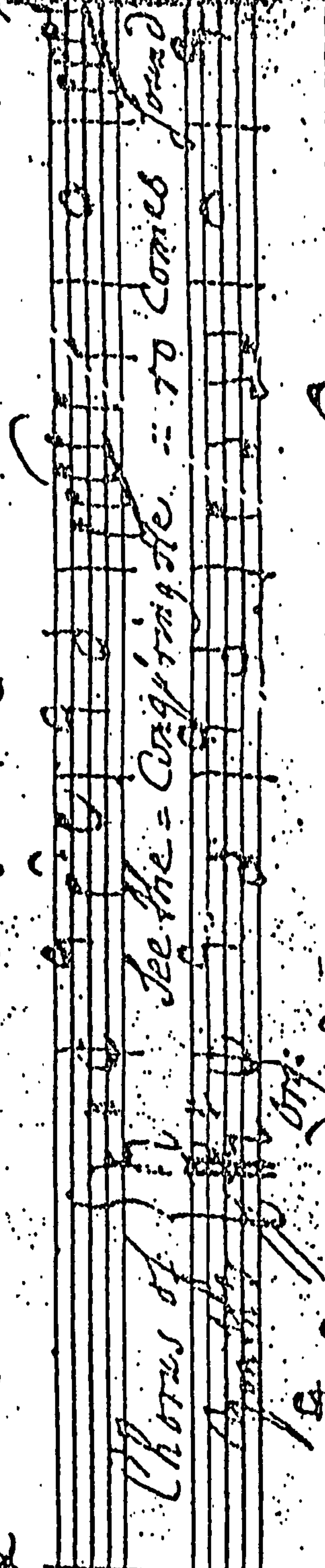
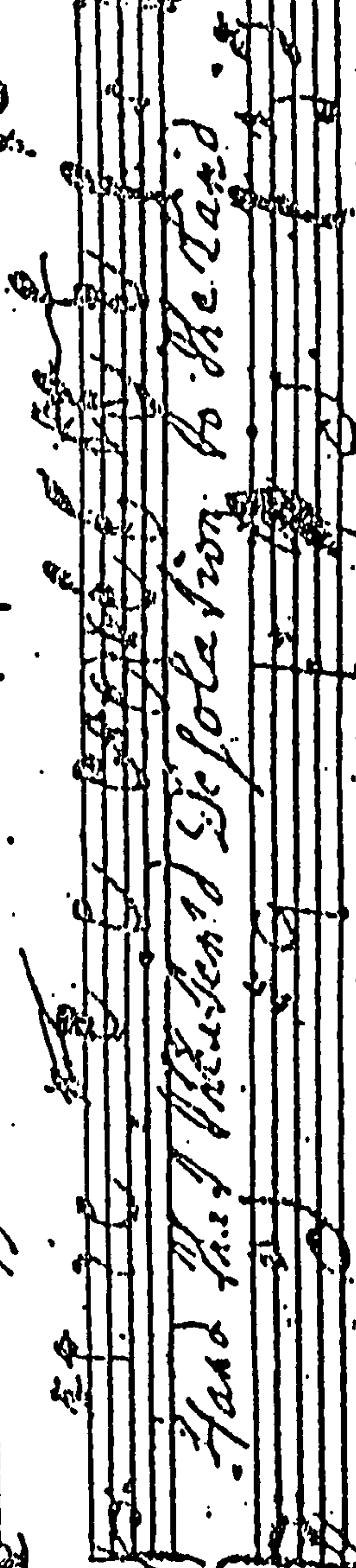
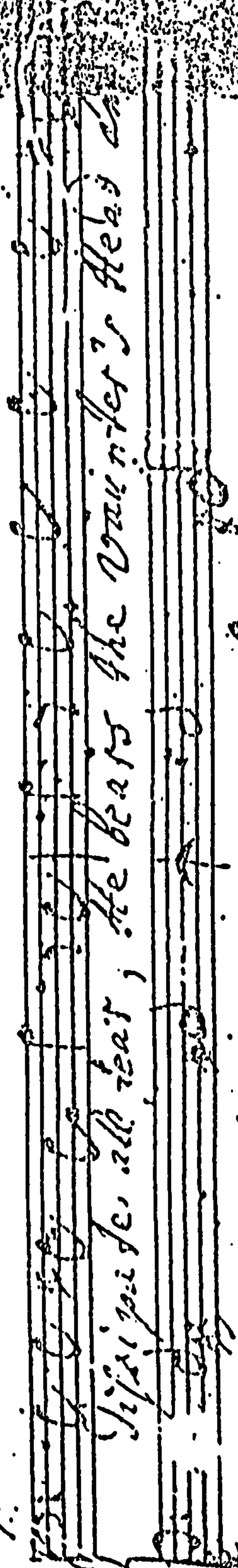
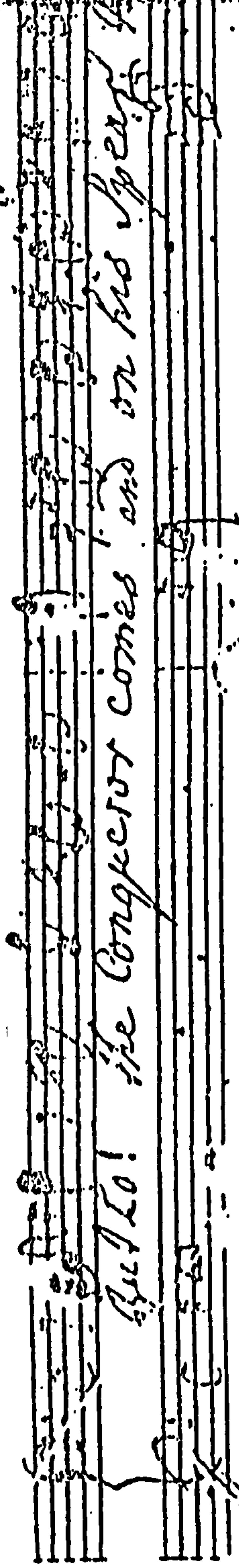
on D-Hs, MA/1026,

Part Two, f.15

first used in the

1750 revivals.

15.



The Solo Singers

The casts involved in the performances of Judas Maccabaeus are unrecorded for many of the seasons after the first. A certain amount of information, however, can be gleaned from newspapers, letters, annotated word-books, and other eighteenth-century sources. A number of writers have made statements about the soloists in this oratorio, but they have rarely revealed their sources. I have attempted to sift this information and make my own conjectures. Sometimes these conjectures are based on information about the teams of soloists who sang together in other oratorios at Covent Garden during that Lenten oratorio season, since Handel normally employed soloists for the complete season. One important source for the names of the soloists is Walsh's successive publication of songs from the new oratorios which generally name the singers for each of them.

There follows a resumé of the casts for Handel's performances of Judas Maccabaeus in 1747, 1748 and 1750. The cast lists follow the convention outlined in the Preface: question marks indicate conjectures about a team of soloists or an individual soloist. The voice of a soloist, shown in brackets after his/her name, has been decided on the basis of the clef used for that soloist's music in the autograph and conducting scores.

The 1747 Performances

Six performances: 1, 3 April,

'With Additions': 8, 10, 13, 15 April.

John Walsh published the first edition of music from the oratorio on Friday 1 May 1747.⁶¹ This edition specified the names of the four singers who sang the solos at the first performances. Walsh's edition was not published until all the performances had been given, which might strengthen the view that no additional soloist was engaged for the revisions made for the later performances in 1747.⁶²

Walsh's edition names the following as the cast:

Elisabetta de Gambarini [S], Caterina Galli [S2],
John Beard [T],⁶³ Henry Theodore Reinhold [B].

The 1748 Revival

Six performances: 26 February; 2, 4 March;

'With Additions': 1, 4, 7 April.

No record of the singers for the 1748 revivals is found in contemporary sources. However, since the Covent Garden team of soloists for Joshua and Alexander Balus was Casarini, Galli, Lowe and Reinhold (as we know from the first Walsh editions of those oratorios) it seems likely that these singers were also involved in Judas Maccabaeus that season.

It has been suggested by Charles Burney⁶⁴ and Winton Dean⁶⁵ that Giulia Frasi sang in the 1748 revivals of Judas Maccabaeus, but this is doubtful. She was involved with performances of La Ingratitudine Punita in London at the King's Theatre.⁶⁶ At the Benefit Concert for Decay'd Musicians on 5 April in which both Frasi and Casarini sang,⁶⁷ Frasi sang items from Acis and Galatea and Alexander's Feast. But Casarini sang 'Come, ever-smiling Liberty', doubtless because it was in her repertoire; she

would have sung it the night before at Covent Garden and would undoubtedly have been coached in it by the composer in preparation for that season's performances of Judas Maccabaeus. Beard did not sing in Handel's oratorio season in 1748. This may be because he left the Covent Garden company, since he was under contract to Drury Lane from 1748. He was replaced by Lowe.⁶⁸ However, in 1752 Beard was released to sing at Covent Garden for Handel, and continued to do so thereafter. It might be conjectured that the soloists for this season were:

[?] Domenica Casarini [S], Caterina Galli [S2],

Thomas Lowe [T], Henry Theodore Reinhold [B].

The 1750 Revival

Four performances: 9, 14, 28, 30 March.

Again, the complete cast was not named in contemporary documents. But the cast for Theodora on 16 March was Frasi, Galli, Guadagni, Lowe and Reinhold.⁶⁹ In the performing score of Judas Maccabaeus Guadagni's name appears six times in Part Two, and twice in Part Three. Two entries are significant for dating purposes. In Part Two it appears on f.18 by the air, 'Flowing Joys', with the soloist's line written in the soprano clef. In Part Three, 'Guadagni's name appears on f.11v., at the beginning of the recitative, 'O Capharsalama'; it is also on f.15 by the recitative, 'But lo' (leading into 'See the conqu'ring Hero comes'). From Issue 1h of the 1747 word-book (Lcm XX.G.22. Vol.II(10)) and from Edition 2, we know these insertions date from 1750.

If my conclusions and my previous assumptions are correct, then this is the first time that we can be sure

that five solo singers were engaged for Judas Maccabaeus. Perhaps the introduction of a number of additional items to the oratorio in 1750 was responsible for this.

It is interesting to note that Galli sang in Boyce's Serenata Solomon at Drury Lane on Wednesday 28 March, in a performance that began at 12 midday.⁷⁰ In the evening, if my conjecture is correct, she also sang in Judas Maccabaeus at Covent Garden. Guadagni sang in this oratorio in 1750, 1751, probably in 1753, and in 1755.⁷¹

The cast was likely to have been:

[?] Giulia Frasi [S],
Caterina Galli [S2], Gaetano Guadagni [S2],
Thomas Lowe [T], Henry Theodore Reinhold [B].

The Evolution of Judas Maccabaeus 1747-1750

The form of the oratorio continued to evolve through its revivals. Movements were added to suit different singers; those soloists replaced others who had sung the solo roles previously. Movements were annexed from other Handel oratorios. Presumably Handel thought they might improve the original form of the oratorio and/or add to its box-office appeal. Deletions of these additional items were no doubt made when performance circumstances changed, when Handel felt that his judgement had been wrong, or when he wished to try out another idea. Appendix Chart 5, THE MUSICAL EVOLUTION of JUDAS MACCABAEUS 1747-1750 shows the successive revisions: Appendix Chart 6, ADDITIONAL ITEMS USED IN JUDAS MACCABAEUS 1747-1750 plots the overall use of additional items in Judas Macabaeus throughout this period.

CHAPTER 4.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Announced in The General Advertiser Saturday 28 March - Wednesday 1 April 1747.
2. Op. cit., Monday 6 April - Wednesday 8 April.
3. Op. cit., Thursday 31 - Thursday 7 April.
4. See Clausen, Händel's Direktionspartituren ('Handexemplare'), pp. 167-170.
5. Pp.460-481.
6. An accurate comparison of typographical and other changes in the eight issues would require original copies of all of them to be in one place. Clearly that is not possible. So, in making this comparative study, I have had to rely partly on microfilms and microfiches, and prints taken from them, as well as direct photocopies of the originals. Variations in the reproduction processes meant that it was not possible to collate and identify minor typographical variations such as the dashes used to emphasise phrases. Nevertheless, enough material can be extracted from these sources to show the sequence of the eight issues.
7. Announced in The General Advertiser (No.3905), 1 May 1747, as 'published this day, priced 10s 6d'.
8. A copy of the 1762 word-book in Lbl, 11771.h1(5) is annotated, 'Duet. Miss Young and Boy', which suggests that the duet was also performed that year.

9. The Aylesford copy in the Newman Flower Collection, Mp, MS 130 Hd4 v.1730 is an early example. It was probably commissioned by Charles Jennens in 1747. Lcm, MS. 250 is a later copy.
10. See HDOM, p.476.
11. Nos. 3881, 3882 and 3883 respectively.
12. For the middle section of 'Cease thy anguish', presumably with a new opening ritornello.
13. This revival had suffered difficulties. It was given, not in Lent, but on 3 November, as part of a subscription series at the King's Theatre. The subsequent performance was postponed to 24 November. A request was published in The Daily Advertiser on Monday 5 November 1744 (No. 4379) to delay the next performance, 'as the greatest Part of Mr Handel's subscribers are not in Town'. For the next two years, 1745 and 1746, the Jacobite Rebellion and Handel's health, as well as his financial state, caused anxieties for the composer and his oratorio seasons, as was noted in Chapter 1.
14. An earlier rearrangement appears to have been made for the first performance. Walsh's 1747 edition of Judas Maccabaeus states that the duet was sung by Sig^{ra} Gambarini and Mr Beard.
15. See Dean, HDOM, p.476.
16. This air was printed in the Judas Maccabaeus word-book as it had been in that of Alexander Balus in 1748, Clearly this item was added for musical, not literary,

reasons. It is hard to imagine that Thomas Morell would have agreed to his Israelitish Messenger, arriving with the latest news about the victory at Capharsalama, addressing the listeners thus. For, having announced that 'Judas, undismay'd, met, fought, and vanquish'd all the rageful train', the Messenger, in 1748, then sang:

Pow'rful Guardians of all Nature,
O preserve my beauteous Love;
Keep from Insult the dear Creature. ...
Virtue sure hath Charms to move.

One can only surmise that anybody taking an intelligent interest in the dialogue in the later 1748 performances might have thought the messenger's remarks here a little incongruous.

17. The words of this recitative have a number of variants. In Larpent, the recitative after the air, 'Come ever smiling Liberty' was:

O Judas, may these noble views inspire
All Israel with thy true heroic Fire!

But in all the 1747 Issues this was printed as:

These noble Views, O Judas, shall inspire
Our eager Souls with thy Heroic Fire.

In 1g another version of this couplet appeared as:

O Judas, may their just Persuits inspire
All Israel with thy true heroic Fire.

However it is the Larpent version, not that printed in the various 1747 issues, that is found in the autograph and conducting scores (see Chapter 2, pp. 37-39).

18. 'Flowing Joys' was adapted from the air, 'So much beauty' which was in Esther of 1732. New words were provided when it was transferred, probably in 1735, and certainly in 1744, to Deborah.
19. Wrongly spelt as 'Capharselama' in this addenda sheet, and in all the 1747 issues. Capharsalama was spelt correctly for the first time in any word-book in the 1750 edition.
20. The air, 'All his mercies I review' is an adaptation of 'Cease thy anguish' from Athalia, which had been prepared for the 1744 revival of Deborah. It was also performed in the later 1747 performances of Judas, as noted above. Like its 1748 predecessor, 'All his Mercies I review' might well have dismayed Thomas Morell as a interjection in the Israelite Messenger's victory announcement. The words are:

All his Mercies I review
Gladly with a grateful Heart;
And I trust he will renew
Blessings he did once impart.

This was followed by the next section of the truncated text:

Nor could the bold Arabians save
Their Chief, Timotheus, from a Coward's Grave.

Clearly Handel wanted the additional music here. But he either did not have the time or the inclination to have the words amended in order to make dramatic sense.

21. The choruses, 'See, the conqu'ring Hero comes' and 'See the Godlike Youth advance' were taken from Joshua. 'The

March' was moved from Part Two of Judas Maccabaeus to this place. It is the first time 'The March' was mentioned in any of the issues.

22. Compared to its 1747 predecessor (Issue 1f).

i. after 'London' on the new title page, it now reads:

Printed by and for J.Watts; and Sold by him at the
Printing-/ Office in Wild-Court near Lincoln's-
Inn-Fields:/ And by B.Dod at the Bible and Key in
Ave-Mary-Lane near/ Stationers-Hall. M DCCL./

[Price One Shilling]

ii. opposite the Dedication (a blank in the 1747 word-books), Watts placed advertisements for his Molière edition. No advertisements had occupied any space in the previous Judas Maccabaeus word-books.

iii. different decorative bands were used at the beginning of each Part.

iv. p.2: 'From this dread Scene' is now spelt 'Duet'. Previously it had been designated 'Duett'.

v. p.5: 'O Liberty' is now on this page. Previously it was placed on p.4 'These noble Views' was deleted.

vi. p.14: Asterisk and footnote deleted.

'Capharsalama' spelt correctly.

23. It might, e.g., be argued that the 'Additional Songs' slip:

i. did not originally apply to Issue 1g, and that it had been bound wrongly with it in the Lcm exemplar.

ii. applied to a later 1748 'Benefit' performance of which no records exist.

iii. was intended for a planned revival in 1749 which did

not come to performance.

24. The air, 'May balmy Peace' is from the Occasional Oratorio. It was derived from 'There sweetest flowers of mingled hue' in Comus, HWV 43(3). The text of 'May balmy Peace' is pasted over 'Endless Fame' in Issue 1h. This appears to be a later development than that indicated for the first revival in 1750 in both Issue 1g and in Edition 2. It would seem that this substitution was made for a later revival that season, perhaps for the third performance in 1750; not for performances in 1751, for which a new word-book was published.
25. The Life of Handel, p.298.
26. HDOM, p.461.
27. The letters were purchased by Gerald Coke, and are now in the Coke Handel Collection.
28. A History of the Oratorio, vol.2, p.295.
29. Handel, p.207, f.n.
30. Lbl, RM 20.f.3, f.62v.
31. D-Hs, MA/ 1033, vol.2, f.1-f.1v.
32. Walsh edition. The Occasional Oratorio (1746), p.37.
33. MU.MS. 259, pp.53-4.
34. Cfm, MU.MS. 809, p.43 and Lcm, MS 250, p.111.
35. RM 18.f.1.
36. The Occasional Oratorio was revived, for the first time since 1747, on Friday 18 February 1763 for a Command Performance at Covent Garden (see The London Stage, part 4, vol.2, p.979). At this 1763 revival, 'O Liberty, thou choicest Treasure' was replaced by the air, 'O Liberty! thou Goddess bright' derived from 'Morrai si, l'empio

tua testa' in Rodelinda. It was in E major in the opera, but transposed down to D major in the 1763 revival of the Occasional Oratorio. Both airs are still to be seen in Part 2 of the conducting score of the Occasional Oratorio, on f.1-1v., and f.7-9 respectively.

37.HDOM, pp. 471, 481.

38.Edition Eulenburg GmbH, Adliswil-Zürich, 1971, p.225.

39.E.g. in i. a performance given by the London Handel Choir and Orchestra with soloists, conducted by Denys Darlow at St John's, Smith Square, London on 30 May 1990. That performance was recorded and was later broadcast on B.B.C. Radio Three on 25 February 1991, and ii. the 1992 hyperion recording (CDA 66641/2) conducted by Robert King.

40.Not to be confused with the 'Dead March', part of which remains on f.5v. in the autograph score: this was copied into the Aylesford score, Newman Flower Collection, Mp, MS 130 Hd4 v.173, pp.18-20.

41.It is derived from Gottlieb Muffat's Componimenti musicali per il cembalo, according to F.G.Edwards in his 'Historical Notes' to the 1906 Novello edition of Judas Maccabaeus.

42.Deduced from the word-books.

43.See f.11v. of Part Two.

44.Shaftesbury, Fussell Winton and Shaw-Hellier.

45.Advertised in issue of The General Advertiser from Monday 27 April - Friday 1 May 1747. The advertisements in that season's newspaper continued

until 9 June 1747.

46. Although announced in the Table of Contents as being on p.73, it was unpaginated in the first edition. In the third edition it was paginated '48', the sheet having been used for Vol.VI, Pt.2 of the Sonatas, or Chamber Aires, for A German Flute, Violin, or Harpsichord, advertised in the London Evening Post 28-30 May 1747.
47. The Annesley Score, MS 250, pp. 100-101.
48. MU.MS. 260, p.26.
49. RM 18.f.1., ff. 157-8, renumbered pp.308-310.
50. In the Annesley, Fussell Winton and Shaw-Hellier scores, a figured bass part suggests that the two unallocated staves were intended for violin 1 and II, probably doubled with oboes, as in the Smith Collection score.
51. His entry in The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain List of Members 1738-1984, London, 1985, p.160, describes him as the 'late Kettle-Drummer to the Hon Admirable (sic) Boscawen'.
52. See the Aylesford library manuscript copy of the original form of this concerto in the Newman Flower Collection in Mp, MS 130 Hd4 vol. 300(2), pp.26-124, designated by the copyist S2 as 'Concerto/ in the/ Oratorio/of/ Judas Maccabaeus'. There follows on pp.125-128 'March/in /Judas Maccabaeus'. It is scored differently to the concerto, indicating that it was not originally intended to be part of the same work.
53. The F major concerto would conveniently have led into the F major air, 'Father of Heaven' which begins Part Three. See Händel-Handbuch, Band 3, pp.101-102.

54. Ascertained from the Barrett-Lennard library copy of Judas Maccabaeus now in Cfm, MU.MS. 809. As an appendix on p.179 there follows a copy of the F major March. This score of the oratorio itself was probably copied directly from the 1748, not the original, state of the conducting score. In this copy the recitative, 'O Capharsalama' is in its earliest, not its 1750, form, and the air 'O Liberty' with its short ending is there too. But, as has already been noted on p.145, the latter did not find its way into Judas Maccabaeus until 1748. The word 'finis' at the end of the oratorio confirms that The March which follows was a later addition. After The March come items which were added to the oratorio in 1750 and 1758 ('Well may we hope' in 1750, 'Tune your harps' in 1758, 'Sweet are thy words' in 1758, 'O Judas' in 1750, and 'Haste we, my Brethren' in 1750). Why The March should have been added here is not clear, since no other music for the Concerto was copied into the Barrett-Lennard score. What it does suggest is that the F major March was not played in the concerto at the earliest performances of the oratorio, but was introduced for the 1748 revivals.

55. See the autograph score in Lbl, Add. MSS 30310, ffs 49-51v, where 'The March', marked 'Marche allegro' and written in two parts for keyboard (a single line on both the treble and the bass staves), forms the last movement of the concerto.

56. Research recorded by Burrows and Ronish has shown that all the Handel autographs of works mentioned in connection with the F major March date from the period 1746 - 1747. See A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs, pp. 259-260; 290-294.
57. In Lbl, Add.MSS 30310, a later development can be seen to have evolved. In three places in the second movement and five places in the next written-out movement there is the instruction 'Org: ad libitum'. Handel filled in these places with music for the organ soloist. The rests indicate where orchestral tutti were originally required. In three of these places where there was insufficient room to fit in the required music he wrote 'NBs' to indicate that this was now to be found elsewhere. He wrote the music for these 'NBs' on a separate sheet which is now to be found in Cfm, MU. MS. 264, f.29v. Clearly this later version is a solo organ concerto. In both versions of this organ concerto 'The March' in its F major form is the final movement. But neither version was designated 'Concerto in Judas Maccabaeus'.
58. In addition to 'The March', these movements are i. Ouverture, ii. Allegro, and iii. Andante (= Andante Larghetto in the Concerto a due cori in F major).
59. Pp. 159-160.
60. P. 179.
61. This was first announced in The General Advertiser (No. 3899) on Monday 27 April 1747. On Friday 1 May the day of publication, in No. 3905 of that newspaper,

its price was first announced as being 10s 6d.

62. See pp. 143-145 above.

63. An unfortunate printing mistake in Dean's biography of John Beard in The New Grove, vol. 2, p. 319, states that he sang the title role in this oratorio in 1746.

64. 'Sketch of the Life of Handel' in Commemoration, p. 35. Burney's dates are clearly unreliable. He also claimed on p. 35 that Judas Maccabaeus was first performed in 1746.

65. In HDOM, pp. 471-2 Dean stated that Frasi sang the part of the First Israelite Woman in 1748. This was corrected in his article on that singer in The New Grove, vol. 6, p. 808. There Dean states that Handel did not employ Frasi until 1749, and that it was not until 1750 that she sang in Judas Maccabaeus.

66. The London Stage, part 4, vol. 1, p. 33.

67. The London Stage, op. cit., p. 42 and Deutsch, Handel, p. 649.

68. The New Grove, vol. 2, p. 319.

69. Deutsch, Handel, p. 683.

70. The London Stage, op. cit., p. 185.

71. See Dean, op. cit., p. 656; Dean, 'Two new 'Messiah' editions', The Musical Times, February 1967, p. 158.

CHAPTER 5.

PERFORMANCES OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS: 1751-1759

Introduction

The revivals of Judas Maccabaeus at Covent Garden during the period 1751-1759 fall into three phases:

- i. 1751-1754, when Handel was still relatively active, even though in 1751 he lost the sight of his left eye, and in 1752 he lost his sight completely.
- ii. 1755-1757, when the composer's failing health caused him to rely more and more on J.C. Smith the younger for the direction of the London oratorio seasons.¹
- iii. 1758-1759, when the revival performances of Judas Maccabaeus contain items with a musical style different from that associated with Handel.

As with the preceding period, the names of the soloists were not included in advertisements which announced oratorio performances during the last decade of the composer's life. However, from names in the conducting score, and from such sources as annotated word-books and known casts from other oratorio performances during the same season, I have made conjectures about the soloists who sang at revivals of Judas Maccabaeus during this period. In itemising these singers I have used the conventions and abbreviations explained in the Preface.

Performances and Casts, 1751-1754

The 1751 Season

A performance of Judas Maccabaeus was given at Covent Garden on 20 March. That evening, between 10 and 11 pm., the Prince of Wales died.² Following the custom of the period, all theatres were closed when the Royal Family was in mourning. So no further revivals of the oratorio took place that season; that which had been planned (and advertised) for 22 March was cancelled.³

The Cast

It is not known which soloists were engaged for Judas Maccabaeus in 1751, but for the revival of Belshazzar given at Covent Garden on 22 and 27 February, the soloists were Frasi, Galli, Guadagni, Lowe and Reinhold.⁴ This team had probably sung at Handel's revival of Esther on 15 March.⁵ They had sung together the previous year, on 1 and 15 May 1750, in Messiah at the Foundling Hospital Chapel.⁶ Although it is possible that Beard may have replaced Lowe as the Tenor soloist at the Foundling Hospital performances of Messiah in 1751,⁷ it is unlikely that he sang for Handel's Covent Garden season in that year. As was noted in Chapter 4, Beard, although still under contract to Drury Lane, was released to sing at Covent Garden from 1752.⁸ Thus, Lowe probably sang the Tenor part in the 1751 performance of Judas Maccabaeus. So the cast, as in 1750, was probably:

[?]Giulia Frasi [S],
Caterina Galli [S2], Gaetano Guadagni [S2],
Thomas Lowe [T], Henry Theodore Reinhold [B].

The Word-book for 1751

Edition 3, dated 1751

John Watts published his third edition of the Judas Maccabaeus word-book dated 1751 for use at the performance on 20 March. The only exemplar of this edition is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, call mark Malowe L.9.2(3). Edition 3 incorporates all the 'Additional Songs' from the addenda sheet that accompanied the 1750 edition. This involved increasing the new word-book by two pages and making its pagination comprehensive: page 1 (though not marked as such) is now the title page, not the first page of the text, as in the previous editions. There were variations in decorative material, especially the wood-cuts heading the beginning of each Part of the oratorio, but the textual content was essentially an up-date of Edition 2.

The collation of pages in the Edition 3 word-book is:

tp/+; ded./dram.per.;[5]/6-11 / [12]-17/[18]-21/22.

The word-book shows that the musical content of the 1751 performance remained the same as that used in the later 1750 revivals; but in this word-book, as with issue 1h of the 1747 edition used in 1750, the text for the air, 'May balmy Peace' (29/-/-) is stuck over that for the air 'Endless Fame' (28/-/-). 'May balmy Peace' may have been given at the performance on 20 March; alternatively, it might be conjectured that 'Endless Fame' was given at the performance on 20 March, and that 'May balmy Peace' was intended for the performance on 22 March that was cancelled.

The 1752 Season

Performances of Judas Maccabaeus were given at Covent Garden on 18 and 20 March.

The Cast

Frasi, Galli, Charles Brent, Beard and Wass sang in Jeptha on 26 February.⁹ It seems that Brent succeeded Guadagni, who was in Dublin at the time of these revivals.¹⁰ The same soloists also appeared, but without Brent, at the Benefit Concert for Decay'd Musicians at the King's Theatre on Tuesday 24 March.¹¹ Reinhold died on 14 May 1751 and was succeeded by Wass. Although now on the staff of Drury Lane, Beard was released to sing at Covent Garden for the Lenten Oratorio Season that year. In fact he sang in all the performances of Judas Maccabaeus at Covent Garden between 1752 and 1759.¹² Wass sang in them as a soloist from 1752 until 1756.¹³

The soloists for Judas Maccabaeus in 1752 were:

[?]Giulia Frasi [S],

Caterina Galli [S2], Charles Brent [S2],

John Beard [T], Robert Wass [B].

Edition 4. An undated word-book relating to 1752 - 1754

There are no dated word-books from the period 1752-4: a single authoritative, but undated, word-book from these years is dealt with after the entry for the 1754 season. It will be seen there that Edition 4 is, in my opinion, that which is applicable to performances in 1752, and also to those in 1753 and 1754.

The 1753 Season

Performances of Judas Maccabaeus were given at Covent Garden on 23, 28, 30 March. There was also a performance at the King's Theatre on 7 May.

The Cast

For the revival of Jeptha given on 16 and 21 March at Covent Garden the soloists were Frasi, Galli, Beard and Wass; Guadagni may have also sung in this.¹⁴ For Messiah, performed at Covent Garden on 13 April, the same soloists, including Guadagni but not Galli, were singing.¹⁵

At the King's Theatre in a Benefit Concert for Decay'd Musicians on 30 April, Frasi, Galli, Guadagni, Beard and Wass were the soloists.¹⁶ It might be conjectured that they also appeared together at the charity performance of Judas Maccabaeus (but not under Handel's direction) at the same theatre on 7 May. Guadagni probably sang in Judas Maccabaeus in 1753, but then not again until 1755.¹⁷

It is uncertain whether or not Galli sang at the Covent Garden performances of Judas Maccabaeus this season; as noted above, she did not sing in the performance of Messiah there. In which case, Guadagni could well have sung some of her items, for there is plenty of evidence in the conducting score that his role was increased at some revivals (see Appendix Chart 16).

It would appear that the soloists in the performances of Judas Maccabaeus this season were:

[?]Giulia Frasi [S],
Caterini Galli? [S2], Gaetano Guadagni [S2],
John Beard [T], Robert Wass [B].

From Edition 4, which I maintain is applicable to this season, it will be seen that no changes were made to the musical content of Judas Maccabaeus as it was performed in 1753, compared with the version performed the previous year.

The 1754 Season

Two performances of Judas Maccabaeus were given at Covent Garden in 1754; they were on 27 March and 3 April.

The Cast

Frasì, Passerini, Galli, Beard and Wass all took part in a performance of Messiah at the Foundling Hospital Chapel on Wednesday 15 May.¹⁸ Galli sang regularly in Handel's oratorios until the end of the season, when she left England for ten years.¹⁹ For singing in Messiah at the Foundling Hospital that summer, Frasi was paid £6 6s 0d, Galli and Passerini were both paid £4 14s 6d, whilst Robert Wass, only received £1 11s 6d.²⁰ Although Handel's principal bass from 1752-1757, Wass did not command as high a fee as singers from Italy. The soloists for the 1754 revival would appear to have been:

[?] Giulia Frasi [S],
Christina Passerini [S2], Caterina Galli [S2],
John Beard [T], Robert Wass [B].

Edition 4

As well as the two performances of Judas Maccabaeus given in 1752, four more in 1753 and two others in 1754 were also given. But I have discovered no dated word-books for these years;²¹ the next word-book to carry a date was published in 1755. However, there is one undated word-book from this period which carries authority because

it is from the same publisher and is in the same print style as the previous Watts and Dod word-books. It is in the Hall Collection, US-PRu, (Ex) XBB3.0183, and it has the date 1751 typed after the call mark in the library's catalogue. However, comparing this to Edition 3, dated 1751, there are the following variations:

- i. Title page: the lower part has no date; a new feature is a narrow oblong decoration before 'Price One Shilling'.
- ii. Dramatis personae page: this has an oblong decoration at the top (not two parallel lines, as in 1751) and a change of decoration at the bottom.
- iii. Page 5: top decoration changed, as is the decoration of the initial letter of 'Mourn'.
- iv. Page 11: the air, 'Endless Fame' is in the main text; there is now no lower decoration.
- v. Page 12: the apostrophe has been removed from 'Fal'n'.
- vi. Pages 17, 18, 19: the decorations have been changed.
- vii. Pages 23 and 24 (both unnumbered): these contain two advertisements for other publications by Watts. The first concerns religious works printed by him, but published jointly by Watts and B.Dod. The second is for the works of Molière in a new edition 'Just Published': the books are 'Printed by and for J.Watts', and are advertised as sold by him and 'by the Booksellers in Town and Country'. This page of advertisements is almost identical with that on

page 2 of the 1750 edition; in neither is B.Dod mentioned.

This undated word-book, with the same collation as its predecessor (not counting the additional advertisement pages), evolved from the 1751 edition: it incorporates items from both Editions 2 and 3. Additional evidence to show that it followed these editions can be seen from a textual mistake on page 12. All the previous word-books had the first word of Part 2 spelt 'Fal'n' for movement 33/27/18. This undated book printed it as 'Faln', omitting the apostrophe. It was not until the 1762 edition that the printers changed the spelling again, using 'Fall'n' (as found in Larpent) for the first time in any printed word-book.

Since there was only one performance in 1751, for which Edition 3 word-book in its original form must have been printed, it follows that this book applies to a later revival, i.e. one given from 1752 onwards before 1755, when the next edition was published. I have, therefore, designated it Edition 4. Information derived from it shows that when it was used, the air 'Endless Fame' (28/-/-) was sung in place of 'May balmy Peace' (29/-/) towards the end of Part One.

A second undated word-book from this period

Another undated word-book from this period is catalogued as C5 in the Coke Handel Collection. It has a smaller format than the word-books issued by John Watts. It bears neither the names of the printer and the

publisher, nor the year of publication. A note on it by Winton Dean suggests 1754 as its date. With two exceptions, its libretto text reverts to that of the 1748 word-book. The exceptions are, firstly, that it has the 1750 insertions of the 'See the conqu'ring Hero' group (but not 'The March'). Secondly, that in Part three, 'O Lovely Peace' is designated as both air and duet.

The smaller format of this word-book is unlike anything previously produced by John Watts. It is possible that this was the word-book produced for the Charity performance in aid of the Lock Hospital at the King's Theatre on Monday 7 May 1753,²² a performance given outside the normal Lenten oratorio season. But it is more likely, as Winton Dean has suggested,²³ that it relates to a performance at Gloucester in 1754. For the purpose of my analysis of the evolution of the libretto, having weighed the evidence, I do not consider that this was produced for one of Handel's London performances; therefore I have not included it in my catalogue of the authentic editions of the word-book.

The Evolution of Judas Maccabaeus, 1751-1754

The undated Edition 4, applying to performances from 1752-1754, would seem to show us the form of the work as performed at some revivals during those seasons; no change was made in it to the lay-out of Judas Maccabaeus. As mentioned on page 191 above, there is a possibility that at some performance in 1751 'May balmy Peace' replaced 'Endless Fame'. I conjecture that the amendment in the Bodleian exemplar of the 1751 word-book already described is

more likely to have been designed for a 1751 revival that was cancelled. From Edition 4 of the word-book it seems that 'Endless Fame' was performed in 1752. Musical evidence from the conducting score in Part One, ff.68-69 does not confirm these changes; any insertions from 1751-1754 were subsequently renewed and the originals removed.

Appendix Chart 8 indicates what I consider to have been all the movements performed during the period 1751-1754.

Performances and Casts, 1755-1757

The 1755 Season

There were two performances of Judas Maccabaeus in 1755. They were given on 12 and 14 March.

The Cast

On 17 March 1755, The Public Advertiser announced a Benefit Concert at the King's Theatre, in aid of Decay'd Musicians, in which Frasi was due to sing. In 1755 Guadagni returned to London and sang in Judas Maccabaeus.²⁴ Passerini also sang in the 1755 performances.²⁵

Probably the cast for this season was:

[?]Giulia Frasi [S],

Christina Passerini [S2], Gaetano Guadagni [S2],

John Beard [T], Robert Wass [B].

The Word-book for 1755

Edition 5, dated 1755

An exemplar of this edition is to be found in US-PRu., (EX) ML53.2. J82H36. This edition differs from its predecessor in the following details:

- i. Title page: the lower part has a change of decoration. The final part of this page states, 'LONDON:M,DCC,LV.' No information is given about the printer and retailer.
- ii. Dedication and Dramatis personae pages: these are no longer included.
- iii. Text: reset throughout; now printed on sixteen, instead of twenty-two, pages.
- iv. Page numbers: now shown in brackets.
- v. Decorated pages: only the title page and page 3 (where the text of the libretto of Part One begins) are now decorated.
- vi. Capital letters at the beginning of each Part: these are now decorated differently.
- vii. Page 10: asterisked footnote giving a biblical reference for the recitative, 'O let eternal Honours' (42/33/-) is omitted.
- viii. Advertisements: none were printed in this book.

This word-book (whose collation of pages is tp./+; [3]/4-[9]/10-15/16) is an undistinguished document. We have no evidence of another London performance this season; it seems, therefore, that this word-book applies to the Covent Garden 1755 revivals. The libretto text in Edition 5 is the same as in Edition 4; so it appears there were no changes in the form of the oratorio this season.

The 1756 Season

There were two performances of Judas Maccabaeus in 1756. They were given at Covent Garden on 26 and 31 March.

The Cast

The names of Frasi and Young are written in a 1756 Judas Maccabaeus word-book, now in the library of King's College, Cambridge.²⁶ Frasi remained Handel's prima donna during the composer's lifetime, and continued under his successor until about 1770.²⁷ Dean²⁸ and Clausen²⁹ each agree that Curioni sang in the 1756 revivals. In the conducting score, 'Curi(?oni)' is written on the soloists stave in 'Pow'rful Guardians' in Part Three, on f.12. That item was introduced in 1756. 'Curioni' is also written on f.11v., at the beginning of the previous recitative, 'From Capharsalama', which led into this inserted air. Clausen also mentions Young as having been in the cast. Dean maintains that Wass sang in Judas Maccabaeus until about 1757.³⁰

For the Commemoration of Benefactors at Oxford in June 1756, London soloists were engaged to sing in a number of Handel's oratorios, including Judas Maccabaeus. Jackson's Oxford Journal of 19 June 1756 reported that the soloists were Frasi, Young, Beard and Thomas Hayes.³¹ As all but the last were well known London soloists, it could well be that they had recently sung in the London revival during the Lenten season. Hayes, with his Oxford connections, might have replaced Wass in June.

Possibly the soloists for this season were:

[?] Giulia Frasi [S],
Rosa Curioni [S2], Isabella Young [S2],
John Beard [T], Robert Wass [B] ?

The Word-book for 1756

Edition 6, dated 1756

For the performances given on Friday and Wednesday 26 and 31 March 1756, a new edition was produced. There are two surviving exemplars. One is King's College Library, Cambridge, Mn.20.63, and the other Coke Handel Collection, C6. This edition has the following features:

- i. Title page: this was reset. The upper part remains the same in content,³² but the composer's credit is now given in the form 'The MUSICK compos'd by Mr. HANDEL.'. The decoration is entirely new.³³ The lower part of the page reverts to the format of the First Edition, except that the printer's name is now given as 'J.Watts', rather than 'John Watts'. His address is not printed; it appears that copies can no longer be purchased from him, but only from B.Dod. The date is no longer printed in Roman figures as before, but as '1756'.
- ii. Pagination: this is now calculated from the title page.
- iii. Page 9: 'Disdainful of Danger' (22/22/15) is wrongly described as an 'Air' for the first time. Previously it had been designated a 'Semi-Chorus'.

iv. Page 10: the air, 'Endless Fame' (28/-/-) follows the recitative, 'O Judas' (27/-/-).

v. Page 18: the air, 'Pow'rful Guardians' (67/-/A), instead of 'All his Mercies' (68/-/B) is inserted into the recitative, 'From Capharsalama' (66/57/AB), after 'rageful Train'. The following two lines of text on this page were omitted from the resumed recitative:

Nor could the bold Arabians save

Their Chief, Timotheus, from a Coward's Grave.

Here an anomaly was corrected. All the previous word- books had failed to correct an error in the printing of the recitative, 'From Capharsalama' derived from the earlier editions. Lines 9 and 10 of the complete recitative were not in Larpent, and there is no evidence that they were set by Handel. However, either as part of the main recitative, or when it was divided to allow insertions, as in 1751, the two redundant lines were always printed thus, until corrected here.

In the Cambridge copy of this edition, the names 'frasi' and 'miss young' have been annotated in pencil by the side of the duet, 'O never, never bow we down' (61/58/28). Rosa Curioni also sang in the March 1756 revivals; but clearly she did not sing in this duet. This word-book reveals, as shown in notes iv. and v. above, that certain changes were made in the content of the oratorio for the 1756 season.

The 1757 Season

There was only one London performance in 1757. It was given at Covent Garden on Friday 25 March.

The Cast

The five soloists who sang at Covent Garden in The Triumph of Time and Truth on 23 March were Frasi, Beralta, Young, Beard and Champness.³⁴ It would seem likely that the same team also sang in Judas Maccabaeus two days later. So the soloists for that performance were probably:

[?] Giulia Frasi [S],
Sig^{ra} Beralta [S2], Isabella Young [S2],
John Beard [T], Samuel Champness [B].

The Word-book for 1757

Edition 7a, dated 1757

For the one 1757 performance a new word-book was produced. There are three exemplars: British Library, 11778.g.17, King's College, Cambridge, Mn.20.64, and Coke Handel Collection, C7. They all have addenda slips attached in identical places which I have assumed apply to performances later than 1757. The 1757 word-book as it was first printed I have designated Edition 7a. The text for the Edition 7a word-book was reset, and its page collation was:

tp./Dod's adverts;ded./dram.per.;[5]/6-9/10;[11]/12-15/
[16];17/18;19/Dod's adverts.

It differs from the 1756 edition in the following details:

i. Title page: the composer's credit title,

'Set to Musick by Mr.Handel.', is a reversion to

that used in the 1751 edition. There is now no decoration under it, as there was in the previous edition. The notice about J.Watts and B.Dod is the same as in the 1756 edition, but the linear decoration below it has been changed.³⁵

- ii. Page 6: the last line in the duet, 'From this dread scene' has an exclamation mark after 'Ah', as it had in the Larpent manuscript, but not in any previous edition of the word-book.
- iii. Page 9: 'Disdainful of danger' reverts, correctly, to the designation 'Semi-Chorus'.

The Evolution of Judas Maccabaeus, 1755-1757

Assuming that Edition 7a, as originally printed represents the 1757 performances, then there were no changes to the movements from that given the previous season. The text of Edition 7a had been recast merely to correct printing errors in Edition 6 of 1756. So, as in 1756, the air 'Endless Fame' (28/-/-) followed the recitative 'O Judas' (27/-/-), and the air 'Pow'rful Guardians' (67/-/A), instead of 'All his Mercies' (68/-/B) was inserted into the recitative 'From Capharsalama' (66/57/AB), after 'rageful Train'. The complete order of the oratorio performed in 1757 is shown on Chart 8 in the Appendix.

Performances and Casts, 1758-1759

The 1758 Season

There were two performances given at Covent Garden in 1758; on 3 and 8 March.

The Cast

The 1758 cast is known from an entry in John Baker's diary. Baker attended a rehearsal at Handel's Brook Street House on 2 March and wrote down the names of those present.³⁶ They were Frasi, Miss Young (Mrs Scott),³⁷ Cassandra Frederick, Beard, Champness and Baildon. A letter from Lord Shaftesbury, dated 31 December 1757,³⁸ states that Handel had just finished composing several new songs for Federica(sic), his new singer. The result was the two airs 'Far brighter than the morning' and 'Great in wisdom', which were introduced into the oratorio in 1758. Joseph Baildon was most likely to have been a Chorus Leader from the position of his name on the performers' list for the Foundling Hospital's Messiah on 27 April.³⁹

The soloists for the performances this season were:

Giulia Frasi [S],
Isabella Young (Mrs Scott) [S2], Cassandra Frederick [S2],
John Beard [T], Samuel Champness [B].

The Word-book for 1758

Edition 7b of 1758 and 1759

By way of advertisement for the 1758 performances, The Public Advertiser on Thursday 2 March and Friday 3 March⁴⁰ announced that Judas Maccabaeus was to be presented with 'New Additions and Alterations'. Similar advertisements for the second performance appeared in the same newspaper on Saturday 4, Tuesday 7 and Wednesday 8 March.⁴¹

No new edition appears to have been published for the London performances during the last two years of Handel's life. Correction slips over certain items, and alongside others in the 7a Edition of 1757, exemplars of which have already been mentioned, apparently sufficed. These effect the following amendments:

- i. Page 10: the air, 'Far brighter than the Morning' (30/-/-) is stuck over the air, 'Endless Fame' (28/-/-).
- ii. Page 11: the duet (39/31/20b) and chorus (-/32/-) 'Sion now' is stuck over the title 'Recitative / Israelitishman', which applies to 'Well may we hope' (40/-/B). Thus, the duet and chorus was inserted between the air, 'So rapid thy course is' (35/29/19) and the recitative, 'Well may we hope' (40/-/B).
- iii. Page 13: alongside the recitative, 'O Judas, O my Brethren' (51/39/-) a slip of paper folded and attached to form a hinge, is on the right hand side of the page. This can be unfolded without obliterating what is already there. On this hinged slip is the recitative, 'Sweet are thy Words' (47/-/-), and the air, 'Great in Wisdom' (48/-/(23).
- iv. Page 15: alongside the duet, 'O never, never how we down' (61/51/28), a hinged slip is stuck on the left hand side. It contains the text of the air, 'Wise men flatt'ring' (60/50/27b).
- v. Page 17: a blank piece of paper is placed over the air, 'Pow'rful Guardians' (67/-/A), cancelling this movement.

This 7b Edition was most crudely presented, and its appearance suggests that no one had taken much interest in it. Handel's health had deteriorated by 1758, and it would seem that neither of the Smiths, nor Morell, had taken it upon themselves to see the word-book through the proof stage. The result was a word-book which could not have enhanced the reputation of the firm of J.Watts. However, from the adjustments described in items i. to v. above, the changes made for the revivals of 1758 and 1759 can be ascertained.

The 1759 Season

There were two performances of Judas Maccabaeus at Covent Garden in 1759; they were given on 23 and 28 March.

The Cast

For the Frasi Benefit performance of L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, ed Il Moderato given in the Great Room, Dean Street, Soho on 1 March, the principal soloists were Frasi, Beard and Wass.⁴² Handel's cast for the revival of Solomon at Covent Garden on 2 and 7 March was probably Frasi, Young (Mrs Scott), Brent, Beard and Wass.⁴³ For the Samson revival on 14, 16 and 21 March given at Covent Garden the cast probably included Frasi, Isabella Scott, Beard and Champness, and possibly Miss Brent.⁴⁴ For the Foundling Hospital performance of Messiah on 3 May, the soloists were Frasi, Ricciarelli, Scott, Beard and Champness.⁴⁵ Simultaneously with Judas Maccabaeus on 23 March, Arne's

Alfred the Great was performed at Drury Lane. It is possible that Brent and Frederick were involved in that production.⁴⁶ So the soloists for Judas Maccabaeus could well have been:

[?] Giulia Frasi [S],
Sign^r Ricciarelli [S2], Isabella Scott [S2],
John Beard [T] and Samuel Champness [B].

The Word-book for 1759

Edition 7b of 1758 and 1759

The Daily Advertiser announcements for the 1759 performances of Judas Maccabaeus made no comment about additions or alterations.⁴⁷ Since no word-book dated for 1759 appears to have been published, it would seem that Edition 7b continued to be used and that the 1758 version was repeated this season.

The Role of J.C.Smith the younger, 1757-1759

In 1758, 'Sion now her head shall raise', based on music by Bononcini but written for a revival of Esther in 1757, could well have been the last music inserted into Judas Maccabaeus by Handel's authority.

During the later part of the decade, Smith the younger played an increasingly important role in the performances of Judas Maccabaeus given during the Lenten oratorio seasons. Movements introduced into Judas Maccabaeus in 1758 such as 'Far brighter than the morning' and 'Great in Wisdom' show signs of Smith's influence. Music derived from Rinaldo, Rodrigo and Agrippina, as well as

from the motet, 'O qualis de coelo sonus' of 1707, was used in this period for these additional items.

Both Winton Dean in HDOM,⁴⁸ and Anthony Hicks in 'The late additions to Handel's oratorios',⁴⁹ concluded that 'Far brighter than the morning' and 'Great in Wisdom' were added in 1758. Hicks also surmises that the influence of J.C.Smith can be detected in these items, as well as in 'Wise men, flatt'ring'. He points out that Smith, in his own compositions, was apt to double up his string writing with horns and bassoons, as, for example, in 'Bid her learn the gentler arts' from his unfinished opera Medea. This orchestral thickening was not Handel's style. The slip on page 13 of the Edition 7b word-book indicates that the recitative, 'Sweet are thy words' and the air 'Great in wisdom' followed the air, 'How vain is Man'. They in turn were followed by the recitative, 'O Judas, O my Brethren!'

The duet and chorus, 'Sion now', used in the revival of Esther in February 1757, was also included in Judas Maccabaeus in 1758⁵⁰. It was mentioned by Dr Burney as having been 'dictated to Mr Smith, by Handel, after the total privation of sight'.⁵¹ Winton Dean⁵² and Clausen⁵³ agree. However, Chrysander in the preface to his 1866 edition of Judas Maccabaeus states that 'Sion now' was introduced into this oratorio in 1756 or 1757: but there is no evidence in the word-books to substantiate this.

The air, 'Wise men flatt'ring' was one of the additions to Belshazzar in 1758. Chrysander in his preface suggests 1757 or 1758 as possible dates when this air was introduced

into Judas Maccabaeus, but the earlier date is a mistake. The revival of Belshazzar, for which the movement was written, took place on 22 February 1758; the only performance of it that year. There was no revival in 1757.

The text of the air, 'Pow'rful Guardians' has blank paper stuck over it in the three word-books of Judas Maccabaeus under review; the movement was never used again in revivals of this oratorio. So, from the above evidence, it would seem that all the pasted slips now in the copies of the 1757 edition that I have reviewed refer to both the 1758 and 1759 performances.

The Recitative, 'From Capharsalama'

In Chapter 4, it was noted that the recitative, 'From Capharsalama' (66/57/AB) underwent a number of changes. Edition 3 of the word-book, dated 1751, shows that the version made for the revival of 1750 was repeated in 1751 (see page 191 above). The same version kept its place in successive performances from 1752-1755. For the 1756 performances, as can be seen from Edition 6 of the word-book, the air, 'Powerful Guardians' (67/-/A) found its way back between sections i. and ii. of the recitative, superseding 'All his mercies' (68/-/B); otherwise the 1751 arrangement was maintained.

In 1758 the final change was made. Edition 7b of the word-book shows that 'Pow'rful Guardians' was deleted. Hence all the insertions within the three sections were removed. But since the G major choruses from Joshua now

followed section iii., and not, as originally, the D major chorus, 'Sing unto God' (73/60/33), the music for the original text had to be adjusted to accommodate these changes. Appendix Chart 7 shows the content of the versions performed in 1756-1757 and from 1758 onwards.

The Evolution of Judas Maccabaeus 1751-1759

A team of five soloists became the norm from 1750, not four as originally planned and used in the early performances. A review of the changes made in the musical content of Judas Maccabaeus during the last decade of Handel's lifetime shows that between 1751-1754 these were minimal. If 'May balmy Peace' replaced 'Endless Fame' in 1751 (see page 191), the latter movement was restored in 1752.

Between 1755-1757 changes were made to the recitative 'O Capharsalama'. In 1756 'Pow'rful Guardians' replaced 'All his Mercies' after the section ending 'rageful Train'. 'Pow'rful Guardians', from Alexander Balus had previously been incorporated into Judas Maccabaeus in 1748 (see Chapter 4, p.147).

In the revivals of 1758-1759 more changes took place. Edition 7b of the word-book shows the details (see page 206 above, and Chart 7 in the Appendix). This was the period in which the influence of J.C.Smith the younger emerged.

By 1759, Judas Maccabaeus had changed in many details from that originally conceived by Handel and Morell. Appendix Chart 9 lists the movements in the composer's first and last performances. Appendix Chart 10 lists the

borrowings and annexations of music from other sources used in this oratorio.

The popularity of Judas Maccabaeus at the time of Handel's death bears testimony to the particular interest that the composer had in the work. Whilst movements from less successful oratorios were annexed and used in Judas Maccabaeus, no items from it were used in revivals of other oratorios in Handel's lifetime. Clearly, those annexed movements were chosen on their musical, not their literary merit. As has been noted, for example in Chapter 4, on pages 180 and 181, the text of some of the items transferred from other oratorios made a nonsense of the sequence of events originally recorded in the libretto of Judas Maccabaeus, especially in the recitative, 'From Capharsalama' (66/57/AB). But Handel had discovered what his audiences wanted. It was good, tuneful music; if necessary, the dramatic coherence of the text could be momentarily sacrificed.

CHAPTER 5.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See Mainwaring, Memoirs, p.138.
2. The Gentleman's Magazine, 1751, p.140.
3. Deutsch, Handel, p.704.
4. Burrows, Preface to Handel's Belshazzar, p.xii
(Novello Handel Edition, 1993).
5. Dean, HDOM, p. 213.
6. See Shaw, A Textual and Historical Companion to Handel's Messiah, p. 71.
7. See Burrows, 'Handel's Performances of 'Messiah': The Evidence of the Conducting Score', Music and Letters, vol. LV1, 1975, p.330.
8. See Dean, op.cit., p.652; Highfill Dictionary, vol.12, p.4.
9. The London Stage, part 4, vol.1, p.296.
10. See Boydell, A Dublin Musical Calendar, pp. 164-165.
11. The London Stage, op.cit., p.302.
12. Dean, op.cit., p.652.
13. Dean, op.cit., p.660.
14. Dean, op.cit., pp.618-9.
15. Shaw, op.cit., p.71.
16. The London Stage, op.cit., p.367.
17. See Highfill, op.cit., vol.vi, p.436.
18. See Deutsch, op.cit., p.751.
19. See Dean, The New Grove, vol.7, p.104.
20. See Deutsch, *ibid*.
21. There is also a hiatus in the Watts and Dod dated word-books for other oratorios in this period (e.g. for the

Jeptha 1752 revival).

22. First advertised in The Public Advertiser of Wednesday 25 April 1753 (No. 5769). The performance had originally been planned for Saturday 5 May, but it had been found 'impossible to get the House ready on account of a Subscription Masquerade', according to the advertisement.
23. HDOM, p.480.
24. See Dean, 'Two new 'Messiah' editions', The Musical Times, February 1967, p.158.
25. See Dean, The New Grove, vol.14, p.275.
26. Call mark, Mn.20.63.
27. The New Grove, vol.6, p.808.
28. The New Grove, vol.5, p.98.
29. See Händel's Direktionspartituren, p.169.
30. The New Grove, vol.20, p.227.
31. See Deutsch, op.cit., p.775.
32. With one exception: for the first time italics are used for 'Covent- Garden', but not for 'in', which previously was in italics.
33. The decoration at the beginning of each part has been changed, as has that at the end of Part 2. There is now no decoration at the end of Parts 1 and 3. The decoration on the dramatis personae page is the same as in the 1751 Edition, but not that of 1755. The capital letters at the beginning of each Part all have a different decoration from their predecessors.
34. See Deutsch, op.cit., p.783; and The London Stage, part 4, vol.2. p.587.
35. Other decoration changes occur in the 'Dramatis

Personae' page, p.4, and at the beginning of each new Part on pp.5, 11 and 17. The capital letter decoration remains unchanged.

36. See Deutsch, op.cit., p.795, quoting John Baker, Diary, p.106.
37. She married the Hon. John Scott in December 1757.
38. See Matthews, 'Handel- More Unpublished Letters', Music and Letters XLII(1961), pp.127-31.
39. See Deutsch, op.cit., p.801, and Dean, HDOM, p.651.
40. Nos. 7286 and 7287 respectively.
41. Nos. 7288, 7290 and 7291, respectively.
42. Deutsch, Handel, pp.811-2.
43. Dean, HDOM, p.527.
44. Dean, op.cit., p.353.
45. Shaw, op.cit., p.72.
46. The London Stage, part 4, vol.2, p.716.
47. On Thursday 22 March (no.7608), Friday 23 March (no.7609), Saturday 24 March (no. 7606), Monday 26 March (no.7607, Tuesday 27 March (no.7608) and Wednesday 28 March (no.7609).
48. On p.478.
49. In Music in Eighteenth-Century England, p.160.
50. Händel- Handbuch, Band 2, p.310.
51. Sketch of the Life of Handel included in An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey (Da Capo Press Edition, 1979, p.30).
52. HDOM, p.478.
53. Händel's Direktionspartituren, p.169.

CHAPTER 6.

PERFORMANCES OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS: 1760-1774

Introduction

J.C.Smith the younger (1712-1795) was 47 years of age when Handel died. From an early age he had been surrounded with matters Handelian. His father had been the composer's principal copyist and financial assistant; he had himself been a pupil of Handel's in the 1720s. He had worked with Handel as his musical assistant during the last decade of the composer's life. At the Foundling Hospital he had helped the composer from 1752 in a managerial capacity and, with Handel's recommendation, Smith became the organist there in 1754. At Covent Garden, on 30 March and 4 and 6 April 1759, in the presence of the composer, the last performances of Messiah were given in Handel's lifetime. We may suppose that Smith directed those performances. Clearly he had Handel's confidence and he was singularly well equipped to continue the tradition of the Lenten season of Handel's oratorios as its Director. This he did, with the assistance of John Stanley, from 1760 until 1774, when he retired to Bath.¹ Although a composer himself, Smith was content to maintain Handel's oratorios as the main attraction of the Lenten oratorio season, and to engage singers trained in the Handelian style.

Like Handel, Smith was well regarded by the Royal Family. He had a cordial relationship with King George III, himself an enthusiast for Handel's music; the new King,

(who succeeded in 1760), attended Smith's Lenten oratorio performances at Covent Garden. From 1762 Smith held an appointment to teach the harpsichord to the Dowager Princess of Wales. On her death in 1772, George III granted Smith a pension. In return Smith presented his Handel manuscripts, inherited from his father, to the King: these are now in the Royal Music Library within the British Library.

Under Smith's direction Judas Maccabaeus retained its popularity; but it continued to change. As with the revivals during Handel's lifetime, much information about the later evolution of this oratorio can be obtained through a detailed study of the word-books.

Performances and Casts, 1760-1774

The 1760 Season

Four performances of Judas Maccabaeus were given in 1760. As part of the Lenten oratorio season it was performed at Covent Garden on 19 and 20 March.

It was also chosen for the opening performance of the Great Music Room, Dean Street, Soho on 18 January. Such was its success that it was repeated there on 31 January. These performances were not directed by Smith.

The Casts

Good publicity was provided for the opening of the Great Music Room in The Public Advertiser from 10 January 1760. In the same newspaper, on Thursday 17 January (No.7842), the unusual step was taken to announce the

names of some of the participants. It was stated that the principal vocal parts would be provided by Signora Passerini, Miss Frederick, Mr Hudson and Mr Champness. The choruses were to be sung by some of the best singers belonging to the choir of the Chapel Royal and St Paul's. The First Violinist was to be Sig. Passerini; with 'the rest by the best performers'. Between the first and second Act a concerto on the organ would be played by Miss Frederick. Simultaneously on 18 January (although not on 31 January) Smith's own oratorio, Comus² was performed at Covent Garden.

On Friday 25 January, The Public Advertiser (No.7849) announced that 'By Particular Desire will be performed the oratorio Judas Maccabaeus. ... At the Great Music Room in Dean Street, Soho, on Thursday 31 January, being the Second Night of the Subscription'. The same soloists were advertised.

For the March performances at Covent Garden the names of the vocal soloists were not advertised, but it was announced that there would be a concerto on the organ by Mr Stanley and a violin solo by Sig. Giardini.

My suggested cast for the Covent Garden revival is the same as that for Smith's Paradise Lost given at Covent Garden on 29 February.³ With the exception of Charlotte Brent, it is also the same team that sang in Messiah at the Foundling Hospital on Friday 2 May (see their Messiah 1760 accounts). The names Frasi, Young (Mrs Scott), Beard and Champness also appear in a libretto within the manuscript score of Smith's The Feast of Darius, D-Hs, MA/676, a work designed for performance at this time.⁴

The soloists were:

The Covent Garden Performances:

[?] Giulia Frasi [S],
Charlotte Brent [S2], Isabella Scott [S2],
John Beard [T], Samuel Champness [B].

The Soho Performances:

Christina Passerini [S], Cassandra Frederick [S2],
Robert Hudson [T],⁵ Samuel Champness [B].

The Word-book for 1760

Edition 8, dated 1760

A new edition of the Watts and Dod word-book was printed in 1760. Exemplars are Royal College of Music, XX.G.19(8), and Coke Handel Collection, C9. The printed pages are collated thus:

tp/ +; ded./dram.pers.;[5]/ 6-10/ [11]-16/ [17-19/ 20.

This edition has the following:

- i. Title page: this reverts to the format used in the 1756 word-book, except for the change of date.
- ii. Decorations: all the previous decorations were replaced and a new one was added at the bottom of page 16.
- iii. Advertisements: on page 2 there are now no advertisements, as there had been in the previous edition.
- iv. Page 6: the exclamation mark has been eliminated after 'Ah' at the beginning of the last line of the duet, 'From this dread Scene,'.
- v. Page 9: 'Disdainful of Danger' is described, wrongly, as an air, as it had been in Edition 6 dated 1756.

vi. Text: this has been re-set throughout. Twenty printed pages, not nineteen as previously, now make up the 1760 word-book.

The insertions made in the 1757 word-book for the performances in 1758 and 1759 have been incorporated in the main text on the following pages, as follows:

On page 10 the air, 'Far brighter than the Morning' is in the main text; as on page 11 is the duetto and chorus, 'Sion now'.

Similarly, on page 13, the recitative, 'Sweet are thy Words,' and the air, 'Great in Wisdom' are both in the main text, as also on page 16 is the air, 'Wise Men, flatt'ring'.

On page 18 the air, 'Pow'rful Guardians', (which had a blank slip stuck over it in the word-book supplied for the 1758 and 1759 performances) is omitted.

The 1760 Edition continues the form of the oratorio as Handel had left it: no changes were introduced for the 1760 performances. The new edition confirms, and in some places clarifies, the exact position of the inserted items pasted into the 1757 book and used in the 1758 and 1759 seasons.

I have found no separate word-book for the performances that were given in the Great Music Room, Dean Street, Soho. As this was not Smith's responsibility, and we do not know what score was used to direct the performance, there is no way of ascertaining the movements of the oratorio that were given.

The 1761 Season

Judas Maccabaeus was performed at Covent Garden on 6 and 11 February. George II had died on 25 October 1760, so these performances were the first of this oratorio to be given in the reign of George III. That on 11 February was a Command Performance, the first of many attended by the new King.⁶

Judas Maccabaeus was also given as a Benefit Performance for Frasi on 5 March in the Great Music Room, Soho, as advertised that day in The Public Advertiser.

The Cast

Two of Smith's own oratorios were performed at Covent Garden this season; Paradise Lost on 18 February, and Rebecca on 4 March.⁷ For the first of these the soloists were Frasi, Brent, Young (Mrs Scott), Beard and Champness. For the second, Frasi, Scott, Norris, Beard and Quillici were among the soloists.⁸

It is not known who the soloists were for performances of Judas Maccabaeus at Covent Garden and Soho this season, but it is likely they were:

[?] Giulia Frasi [S],
Charlotte Brent [S2], Isabella Scott [S2],
John Beard [T],
Gaetano Quillici [B] or Samuel Champness [B].

The Word-book for 1761

Edition 9, dated 1761

There is one exemplar of this edition: Manchester Public Library, Newman Flower Collection, BR 310. 1 Hd 641.

John Watts printed this new edition for the 1761 revivals at Covent Garden. The page collation of this edition is the same as in the 1760 Edition. By comparing the 1761 Edition with that of 1760 it can be seen:

- i. Title page: this remained the same, except for the change of date.
- ii. Decorations: those on the the Dramatis Personae page, and those on pages 5, 11, 16 and 17 were changed.
- iii. Page 8 : the last word in line 1 of the air, 'Call forth' was misspelt as 'dar', instead of 'dare'.
- iv. Page 10: the air, 'Far brighter than the Morning' was omitted.
- v. Page 12: the air, 'Flowing Joys' was omitted.
- vi. Pages 10-12: the text has been reset because of the deleted items. Elsewhere the text remained the same.

Two changes were made for the 1761 revivals: the airs, 'Far brighter' and 'Flowing Joys' were omitted.

A Benefit Performance of Judas Maccabaeus was also given for Giulia Frasi on Thursday 5 March, in the Great Music Room, Dean Street, Soho. During it Stanley played an organ concerto and Pinto played a violin concerto.⁹ I have not discovered another word-book printed specifically for that performance. As with the Soho performances of Judas

Maccabaeus the previous season, we do not know the exact format of movements used for this Benefit Performance.

The 1762 Season

As announced during March and April in The Public Advertiser, Judas Maccabaeus was performed, with concertos by Stanley and Giardini, at Covent Garden on 5, 10 and 17 March; the last two were Command Performances. On 21 April the oratorio, with a concerto by Stanley, was given in the Great Music Room, Soho, as a Benefit Performance for Giulia Frasi.

The Casts

On 5 March, simultaneously with the Covent Garden performance of Judas Maccabaeus, Brent, Tenducci and Champness were performing at Drury Lane in Arne's The Sacrifice.¹⁰ They could not, therefore, have taken part in the Covent Garden revival. Since the remainder of the 1761 cast was active in London, it seems likely that they were engaged for the March performances. Clausen notes that Scott's name in the conducting score of Semele dates from 1762.¹¹

Clausen also notes that the names of Brent, Mrs Mosor, Polly Young and Tenducci appear in the conducting score of Judas Maccabaeus and links them with a libretto from 1762.¹² However, Brent and Tenducci were not part of the Covent Garden cast this season, so these annotations must have been made in other years.

The soloists were probably:

The Covent Garden Performances:

[?] Giulia Frasi [S],

Isabella Scott [S2],

John Beard [T],¹³ Gaetano Quilici [B].

The Soho Performance:

[?] Giulia Frasi [S], Mrs Mosor [S],

Charlotte Brent [S2], Polly Young [S2],

Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci [S2],

John Beard [T], Samuel Champness [B].

The Word-books for 1762

The Editions No. 10, dated 1762.

For the 1762 performances it appears that three different issues were published. These I have subdivided as follows:

Edition 10a

There are three exemplars:

Huntington Library (USA), K-D 413.¹⁴;

King's College, Cambridge, Mn. 20. 65; and

Royal College of Music, XX.G.22(14).

These have uncorrected texts and the collation of their pages is:

tp/ adverts; ded/dram.pers;[5]/ 6-10/[11]-16/[17]-19/ 20.

Compared to its predecessor (Edition 9), this edition has:

i. Title page: exactly the same, except for the change of date.

ii. Page 2: the Watts and Dod advertisement is for

fourteen Handel oratorios, including Judas Maccabaeus and Acis and Galatea.

- iii. Pages 5, 11, 16, 17: the decoration has been changed.
- iv. Page 8: the misspelling of 'dare' has been corrected.
- v. Page 11: for the first time in any printed word-book, the first word of Part II was spelt 'Fall'n', as in Larpent.
- vi. Page 13: the recitative, 'Sweet are thy words' and the air, 'Great in Wisdom' are omitted.

Edition 10b

There are two exemplars:

- i. British Library, 11778.g.18 and
- ii. British Library, 11771.h1(5).

These vary from Edition 10a as follows:

- i. Title page: at the bottom of the page, the words 'and the Booksellers of London and Westminster.' were added after the words 'Stationers-Hall.'
- ii. Decoration: this was changed on the Dramatis personae page; and on pages 5, 11, 16 and 17.
- iii. Page 12: the text of the air, 'Flowing Joys' is printed on a hinged slip, pasted in after the recitative, 'Well may we hope'. The British Library copy 11771.h1(5) now has no slip, but an examination of the page, where adhesive marks can still be seen, reveals that there was one there once.
- iv. Page 17: 'Priest' is now 'Priests'.

These word-books are identical in their printed text; but British Library, 11771.h1(5) has manuscript annotations written by an unknown hand. Comments in ink (mostly on the right hand side of the pages) provide information about performance cuts and singers. Those in pencil (generally on the left hand side of the pages) are usually labelled '1771', and presumably apply to one or more of the five performances during the 1771 season. These notes provide interesting information about two post-Handel performances. In itemising the annotations written on the specified pages I have identified the annotated movement first, followed by any annotations that might have been made in 1762. An annotation relevant to a 1771 performance is placed in brackets and preceded by ''71'.

The annotations are:

Page 5: Recit, Israelitish Man, 'Well, Brethren',
'Miss Young'.

Page 6: Duet, 'From this dread Scene',
'Miss Young & Boy'.

Simon, Recit, 'Not vain',
'Mr Champness'. This movement is sidelined
with the air, 'Pious Orgies', implying that
the annotation also applies to that movement.

Page 7: Simon, Recit, 'I feel, I feel',
'Mr Champness' sidelined with
Air, 'Arm, arm, ye Brave'.
Recit, Judas, ''Tis well, my Friends',
'Mr Beard.

Page 8: Air, 'Call forth thy Pow'rs',
'Mr Beard'.

Recit, 'To Heav'ns Almighty King'
sidelined with the following air -

Air, 'O Liberty',
'Miss Young'.

Air, 'Come, ever-smiling Liberty',
'Boy'.

Page 9: Air, ''Tis Liberty',
'Miss Young'.

Judas, Recitative, 'So willed',
'Mr Beard'.

Recit, 'We come; Oh see',
'D^o'.

Air (sic), 'Disdainful of Danger',
'Mr Beard'.

Page 10: Recit, Judas, 'Ambition! if e'er Honour',
'Mr Beard'.

'Air by Boy'¹⁵ - before

Recit, 'Haste we, my Brethren'
'Omitted'.

Page 11: Recit, Israelitish Man, 'Victorious Hero!',
'Miss Young', ['71 'M^r Reynolds].

Air, 'So rapid thy Course is',
'Miss Young', ['71 'Boy'].

Duetto and Chorus, 'Sion now',
'Miss Young & Boy'.

Page 12: Recit, Israelitish Woman, 'O let eternal'
sidelined with

Air, 'From mighty Kings',
'Boy'.

Recit, 'Thanks to my Brethren',
'Mr Beard'.

Page 13: Air, 'How vain is Man',
'Mr Beard'.

Recit, Israelitish Messenger, 'O Judas',
'Miss Young'.

Air and Chorus, 'Ah! wretched Israel',
'Boy'.

Recit, Simon, 'Be comforted.',
Mr Champness, ['71 'Mr Reynolds'].

Page 14: Air, 'The Lord worketh wonders',
'Mr Champness', ['71 'Mr Reynolds'].
Recit, Judas, 'My Arms!',
'Mr Beard', ['71 'Mr Champness Jnr'].
Air, 'Sound an Alarm',
'Mr Beard', ['71 'Mr Champness Jnr'].
Recit, Simon, 'Enough. To Heav'n',
'Mr Champness', ['71 'Mr Reynolds'].

Page 15: Air, 'With pious Hearts',
['71 'Mr Reynolds'].
Recit, Israelitish Man, 'Ye Worshippers'
and
Recit, Israelitish Woman, 'No more in Sion',
'Omitted' outside a bracket joining both
recits. ['71 'Omitted 1771'].
Air, 'Wise Men, flatt'ring',
'Miss Young', ['71 'Boy'].

Page 16: Duet, 'O never, never',

'Miss Young & Boy', ['71 '2 Boys']

sidelined with

Chorus, 'We never, never will bow down'.

Page 17: Israelitish Priest, Air, 'Father of Heav'n',

'Miss Young'.

Recit, Israelitish Man, 'See, see yon Flames',

'Mr Champness'.

Recit, Israelitish Woman, 'O grant it, Heav'n',

'Boy'.

Air, 'So shall the Lute',

'Boy'.

Page 18: Israelitish Messenger, 'From Capharsalama',

'Miss Young', ['71 'Mr Reynolds'].

Chorus of Youths, 'See, the conqu'ring Hero',

'Miss Young & Boy', ['71 '2 Boys'].

Page 19: Recit, Judas, 'Sweet flow the Strains',

'Mr Beard', ['71 'Mr Champness'].

Air, 'With Honour',

'Mr Beard'.

Eupolemus (The Jewish Ambassador(sic) to

Rome), 'Peace to my Countrymen',

'Mr Champness'.

Page 20: Air, 'O lovely Peace',

'Duet. 'Miss Young & Boy'.

There is no indication in this word-book to show what air was sung by the Boy on page 10, after the recitative, 'O Judas,'. But it seems unlikely that a new air was introduced. Four airs had already been used here to precede

the final chorus of Part One. Of these, 'May balmy peace' had not been used again after 1751, and 'Choir of Angels' was not used after 1747. Of the remaining airs, 'Endless fame' had been dropped in 1758, and not used here after Handel's death. On the other hand, 'Far brighter' was used in 1758 and 1759, and in Smith's first post-Handel revival in 1760. It seems to me more likely that 'Far brighter' would have been used here, as in 1760, rather than 'Endless fame', which, so far, had not been sung in post-Handel Covent Garden performances of Judas Maccabaeus.

Edition 10c

An exemplar is National Library of Scotland, BH.Lib.97.

Compared with its predecessor:

- i. Page 10: the recitatives, 'O Judas' and 'Haste we' have paper stuck over them.
- ii. Page 12: the recitative, 'Well may we hope' has paper stuck over it, and the air, 'Flowing Joys' omitted.
- iii. Page 14: the recitative, 'Enough. To Heav'n' has paper stuck over it.
- iv. Page 15: the air, 'With pious Hearts,' and the following recitative, 'Ye Worshippers' are omitted. 'No more in Sion' (part two of 59/49/B) is added.
- v. Page 16: the text was reset to accommodate the changes made on page 15. The only complete movement here is the chorus, 'We never,'. The decoration on the lower part of the page has been changed.

These word-books have the following differences:

- i. In 10a, the recitative, 'Sweet are the words' (47/-/-) and the air, 'Great in Wisdom' (48/-/(23)) were omitted.
- ii. In 10bi, the air, 'Flowing Joys' (41/-/-) was added. In 10bii, the recitatives, 'Haste we' (31/25/-), 'Ye Worshippers of God!' and 'No more in Sion' (59/49/B) were omitted. An air, possibly 'Far brighter' (30/-/-), was sung by the Boy. 'Flowing Joys' (41/-/-) was omitted.
- iii. In 10c, the recitatives, 'O Judas' (27/-/-), and 'Well may we hope' (40/-/B), the air, 'Flowing Joys' (41/-/-), the recitative, 'Enough. To Heav'n' (57/47/A) and the air, 'With pious Hearts,' (58/48/27a) were omitted. The recitative, 'No more in Sion' (part two of 59/49/B) was added.

It seems clear that Edition 10a was provided for the first Covent Garden performance. Editions 10bi and 10c were presumably those used at the other two performances under Smith's direction at Covent Garden. But we do not know to what performance the annotations on Edition 10bii apply, nor when the annotations were made.

None of the cuts in the libretto affect Part Three; this was already the shortest Part. The original length of this Part had been kept shorter than the other two, and the 'Concerto in Judas Maccabaeus' (Concerto a due cori in F, HWV 334) had been designed to be performed between Parts Two and Three. But some shortening of the other Parts must

have been considered necessary, perhaps because a concerto was now played between Parts One and Two.

It is not known what concertos Stanley and Giardini played at the first three 1762 performances, or what Stanley played at the Soho Benefit Performance. Public taste was changing. More concerto performances were introduced into Judas Maccabaeus; it is possible that some shortening of Parts One and Two was partly designed to accommodate these concertos. The change of the spelling of the first word of Part Two, from 'Fal'n' to 'Fall'n', suggests that someone had at last noticed the perpetuated First Edition error. However, the second spelling, on the same line, remains 'fall', not 'fall'n' as it originally appeared in both Larpent and in the autograph score.

The 1763 Season

Only one performance of Judas Maccabaeus was given this season, 'by Command of their Majesties', at Covent Garden on 2 March.

For the single performance of Judas Maccabaeus, The Public Advertiser announced that a concerto on the organ by Mr Stanley, and a violin concerto by Mr Hay would be played.¹⁶ Judas Maccabaeus was the first oratorio to be performed after the February riots at Covent Garden.¹⁷ Seven other Handel oratorios were given that year at Covent Garden, including a revival of the Occasional Oratorio (see Appendix Chart 11, which shows the performances of Handel's oratorios from 1760-1774). But the second performance of the Occasional Oratorio, scheduled for Friday 25 February,

had to be cancelled because the rioting had caused considerable damage to the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden the previous evening during a performance of Arne's Artaxerxes.

The Cast

On 18 February The Occasional Oratorio was revived at Covent Garden. In its conducting score the names of Frasi, Scott, Young, Tenducci, Curioni, Beard, and Norris appear. Apart from Beard, none of these singers had taken part in the previous performances of that work in 1746 and 1747.

For Arne's Artaxerxes, revived at Covent Garden on 24 February, the cast was Brent, Miss Poitier, Tenducci, Peretti, Beard and Mattocks.¹⁸ The same opera was given on Tuesday 22 March as a Benefit for Charlotte Brent. Arnold's selection of Handel's music, The Cure of Saul, given at Drury Lane on Wednesday 27 April had Scott, Young, Clementina, Tenducci, Beard, Norris and Champness as the soloists.¹⁹ For a Foundling Hospital performance of Messiah on Friday 29 April Frasi, Scott, Beard and Quilici were the soloists.²⁰

The soloists were probably:

[?] Giulia Frasi [S],
Isabella Scott [S2], Polly Young [S2],
Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci [S2],
John Beard [T], or Thomas Norris [T],
Gaetano Quilici [B].

The Word-book for 1763

Edition 11, dated 1763

There are five exemplars:

Two are in the Coke Handel Collection, both marked C11. Others are National Library of Scotland, BH. Lib. 98; British Library, 1500/253; and Royal College of Music, XX.G.22(15). These word-books are identical in their format and content.

The collation of the printed pages of this edition is:
tp/adverts;ded/ dram. pers.;[5]/6- [11] / 12-[17/18-19/20.

Compared with Edition 10c, its predecessor, it has:

- i. Title page: this is identical, except for the change of date.
- ii. Decorations: all the page decorations were changed, except that on the title page.
- iii. Page 10: the recitatives, 'O Judas' and 'Haste we,' were restored.
- iv. Page 12: the recitative, 'Well may we hope' was restored, and the air, 'Flowing Joys' added.
- v. Pages 14-15: the recitative, 'Enough. To Heav'n' was restored.
- vii. Page 15: the air, 'With pious Hearts' and the recitative 'Ye worshippers of God!' were restored.

This season, the cuts made on pages 10, 12, 14 and 15 in the 1762 word-book Edition 10c were all restored, and the air, 'Flowing Joys' (41/-/-) was added. It was this movements last appearance in a Smith revival of Judas Maccabaeus (see page 262 below).

Although the format of the exemplars is identical, Royal College of Music, XX.G.22(15) is annotated with the names of the following singers:

- Page 6: Duet, 'From this dread Scene',
'Linleys'
Air, 'Pious Orgies',
'Miss Linley youngest'.
- Page 7: Air, 'Arm, arm, ye Brave',
'Mr Parry'.
- Page 8: Air, 'O Liberty',
'Miss Linley'.
Air, 'Come, ever-smiling Liberty',
'Miss N.Lindley' ('Mrs Weishall' crossed out).
- Page 9: Air, ''Tis Liberty',
'Miss M.Lindley' and 'Farrell'.
- Page 11: Air, 'So rapid thy Course is',
'Draper'.
Duetto and Chorus, 'Sion now',
'Two Miss Linleys'.
- Page 12: Air, 'Flowing Joys',
'Mrs Farrell'.
- Page 13: Air, 'How vain is Man',
'Mr Norris'.
- Page 14: Air, 'The Lord worketh Wonders',
'Webster'.
- Page 16: Air, 'Wise Men',
'Draper'.

Duet, 'O never',
'Linleys'.

Page 17: Air, 'So shall the Lute',
'Miss Linley youngest'.

Page 19: Air, 'With Honour',
'Norris'.

Page 20: Air, 'O lovely Peace',
'J...gs'.
Air and Chorus, 'Rejoice, O Judah',
'Webster'.

The singers mentioned in this copy of the word-book were the Linleys, Mr Parry, Farrell, Draper, Norris, Webster and 'J-----gs' (? Jennings). Since six of these singers were involved in performances of Judas Maccabaeus at Drury Lane on Wednesday 11 March 1778 and at the Command Performance given there on Friday 20 March 1778,²¹ it would appear that it is to those performances that the annotations apply.

The 1764 Season

Two performances of Judas Maccabaeus were given at Covent Garden this season. The first was on 23 March,²² and the second, 'By Command of their Majesties', on 4 April.²³ The advertisements for both performances that appeared in The Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser have the title as 'JUDAS MACCHABOEUS'.

The Cast

At the Lock Hospital Chapel on Wednesday 29 February, in a performance of Arne's Judith, the soloists were Brent, Miss Wright, Tenducci, Beard and Champness.²⁴ Handel's Deborah was revived at Covent Garden on 14 March. Although the soloists were not announced, the conducting score of that oratorio has the names of Mosor, Tenducci and Weichsel in it. These names have been dated to 1764.²⁵

A Covent Garden performance of Arne's Artaxerxes on Saturday 31 March was given as a Benefit for Charlotte Brent,²⁶ and another on Wednesday 2 May was for Tenducci's Benefit.²⁷ Quilici appeared at Covent Garden on Tuesday 5 June singing in a Benefit Concert for the young Mozarts.²⁸

Probably the soloists were:

[?]Charlotte Brent [S], or Frederica Weichsell [S],
Polly Young [S2], Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci [S2],
John Beard [T],
Samuel Champness [B] or Gaetano Quilici [B].

The Word-book for 1764

Edition 12 of 1764 and 1765

Exemplars of the 1764 word-book are Royal College of Music Library, XX. G. 22(16) and Coke Handel Collection, C.12.

On the day of the first revival this season, the new edition of the word-book was advertised:

This Day Publish'd. Price 1s. As acted tonight at
Covent Garden, Judas Maccabaeus, a Sacred Drama. With

Alterations. Printed for the Administrator of
J.Watts.²⁹

The collation of the pages of this edition is:

tp/adverts.:ded/dram.pers.;[5]/6-[11]/12-15/ [16]-18/19.

Compared with the 1763 Edition, this has:

- i. Title page: the lower part changed. John Watts died in 1763³⁰ and the credit title is now:
'Printed for the Administrator of J.Watts: And sold by B.Dodd³¹/ at the Bible and Key in Ave-Mary-Lane near Stationers-Hall; G/Woodfall the Corner of Craig's-Court, Charing-Cross; and S./Hooper at the New-Church in the Strand. 1764'.
- ii. Decorations: these are changed throughout: there are no decorated capital letters at the beginning of each Part.
- iii. Pages: there are now nineteen, not twenty, printed pages.
- iv. Page 2: the text on this advertisement page is rearranged. It begins with 'Oratorios, all set to Musick by Mr Handel, printed for the Administrator of J.Watts'. It then continues the information about B.Dod, G.Woodfall and S.Hooper, as on the title page. The works advertised are identical with those on page 2 of the previous edition; except that Nabal has been added.
- v. Page 10: the recitatives, 'O Judas' and 'Haste we' are omitted.

- vi. Page 12: the Israelitish Man's recitative, 'Well may we hope', and the air, 'Flowing Joys' are omitted.
- vii. Pages 14-15: Simon's recitative, 'Enough. To Heav'n', the air, 'With pious Hearts' and the Israelitish Man's recitative, 'Ye Worshippers of God' are all omitted.
- viii. Page 18: 'Ambassador' begins with an 'A'. All previous editions began the word with an 'E'.

The changes to the 1763 format outlined above are found in both exemplars of the 1764 word-book, which are identical and have no stuck-on slips. So it may be assumed either that no changes were made in the second performance, or, if changes were made, that the word-book for that performance has not been discovered. Details given in items v, vi and vii above show which movements were deleted in 1764.

The 1765 Season

Three Covent Garden performances of Judas Maccabaeus took place in 1765; on Friday 22 February, Friday 8 March and Friday 22 March. The advertisements for the first performance announced that it was to be given 'By Command of Their Majesties', and that a concerto was to be played on the organ by Mr Stanley.³² On the day of that performance, an advertisement was placed in The Public Advertiser announcing that the music of the oratorio had just been published and that it was available from J. Walsh in Catherine Street, Strand. This must have been a

reissue of an earlier Walsh Edition (see W.C.Smith, A Descriptive Catalogue, p.114).

The second performance was advertised twice in The Public Advertiser;³³ but not as a Command Performance, though Stanley would again perform an organ concerto. The third performance was advertised twice.³⁴ That, too, was not to be a Command Performance, nor was it advertised as including a concerto of any kind. On Tuesday 19 March, a letter to the printer concerning Stanley's concerto playing had been published.³⁵ The writer complained that Stanley had not played the organ concerto between the Second and Third Acts, as advertised, at an oratorio performance he/she had attended. The correspondent enquired why Mr Pinto did not oblige, and complained that the organ was so powerful in the choruses that the other instruments were quite drowned.

The Cast

During the 1764-5 season, Arne's Artexerxes was performed at Covent Garden on Friday 23 November, with a cast including Brent, Tenducci, and Beard. Charlotte Brent had a Benefit Concert at Covent Garden on Monday 15 April with the same work. For a performance of Isaac Bickerstaffe's The Maid of the Mill on Thursday 31 January at Covent Garden, Brent and Beard were in the cast.³⁶ Alexander's Feast was performed at Covent Garden on Wednesday 27 February. The names of Brent, Guarducci, Mosor, Tenducci and Weichsel have been written in the conducting score of that work: Clausen's attributes them to 'after

1759',³⁷ but it is not clear to which revivals they apply, since there were London performances of Alexander's Feast in 1762, 1763 and 1764, as well as in 1765. But it could well be that some of these soloists sang in its 1765 revival.

Names in the conducting score of Israel in Egypt suggest that Frasi, Brent, Scott and Mosor were singing the solo parts in that oratorio on 13 March 1765.³⁸ Jonathan Legg was one of the bass singers at Covent Garden this season; Samuel Champness was employed by Drury Lane, but as there were no simultaneous performances with Judas Maccabaeus revivals at Covent Garden in 1765, he might have been released to sing at the rival house.

The following soloists could have been engaged:

[?] Giulia Frasi [S] or Charlotte Brent [S]

Mrs Mosor [S],

Isabella Scott [S2], Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci [S2]

John Beard [T],

Samuel Champness[B] or Jonathan Legg [B].

The Word-book for 1765

Edition 12 of 1764

On the 22 March 1765 the day of the last performance this season, there was an advertisement in The Public Advertiser for the sale of the word-book, 'printed for B.Dod and S.Hooper, at the corner of the New Church in the Strand, and G.Woodfall at Charing Cross'. John Watts died in 1763. Benjamin Dod died in 1764.³⁹ The two firms largely responsible for the word-books of Judas Maccabaeus so far had now obviously undergone changes in their management.

An undated copy, National Library of Scotland, BH.Lib.99, has the pencilled suggestion '? 1765' written on the title page. But in similar copies, British Library, 11630.d.4(13), and Manchester Public Library, Newman Flower Collection, B.R.310. 1HDD 674(10), other dates have been suggested. Clearly no accuracy can be attributed to those suggestions. These word-books state that they were 'Printed for the Administrator of J.Watts; and sold by T.Lowndes in Fleet Street.' They are considered later below.

I have been unable to locate a copy of any 1765 Edition. It seems likely that old stocks of the 1764 Edition were used for this season, so, on word-book evidence, it is not possible to identify the movements included in the 1765 revival of Judas Maccabaeus.

The 1766 Season

Two performances of Judas Maccabaeus were given at Covent Garden this season; on 28 February and 14 March. For the first, a concerto on the violin by Mr Barthélemon was advertised in The Gazetteer and Daily Advertiser;⁴⁰ the second performance was advertised as being 'By Command of their Majesties', and a concerto on the organ by Mr Stanley was also announced.⁴¹

The Cast

Although Stanley and Smith revived Deborah, Alexander's Feast and Israel in Egypt, as well as Messiah and Judas Maccabaeus at Covent Garden, there is little information to indicate the soloists. However, on 30 April

1766 a performance of Worgan's Manasseh in the Chapel of the Lock Hospital had Brent, Mrs Mattocks, Poitier, Vernon and Champness as the soloists.⁴² Tenducci was singing in London in 1766.⁴³ The soloists could have been:

[?] Charlotte Brent [Mrs Pinto] [S],
Isabella Mattocks [S2], Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci [S2],
Joseph Vernon [T], Samuel Champness [B].

The Word-book for 1766

Edition 13, dated 1766

Exemplars are:

Royal College of Music Library, XXI. C. 13(3), Coke Handel Collection, C.13, and Bodleian Library, Oxford, Vet A.5.e.158(1).

In the three exemplars, the printed text and the collation of pages are identical. The latter is:

tp/-;ded/dram.pers.:[5]-10/[11]-15/[16]-19.

Comparing the 1766 Edition with that of 1764, the 1766 Edition has:

- i. Title page: the decoration on the lower part was changed; the name and address of B.Dodd (sic) was eliminated.
- ii. Page 2: no advertisements.
- iii. Decorations: the same, except for those on the title page: identical wood-cuts had been used.
- iv. Dedication: this remained, but for the last time.⁴⁴

From the evidence of the word-book, the movements in the oratorio remained the same as those of 1764.

Although the copies of the word-books are identical as to printed text, Coke Handel Collection, C.13 has the names of singers against certain items. Some of them have '69' or '70' alongside them; these appear to be the last two figures of year dates.

The annotations are:

Page 6:	Air, 'Pious orgies'	Guarducci	69
		Guadagni	70
		Tenducci	70
Page 8:	Air, 'O Liberty,' and Air, 'Come, ever-smiling Liberty,'	Mrs Weichsel	
		70	
Page 9:	Air, 'Disdainful of Danger,' A Trio.	Mrs Scott	
		Norris, Champness	
Page 12:	Air, 'From mighty Kings'	70	
		Mrs Weichsel	
Page 13:	Air and Chorus, 'Ah! wretched Israel;'	Tenducci	
Page 14:	Air, 'Sound an Alarm'	Norris	70
Page 15:	Air, 'Wise Men, flatt'ring'	Guarducci	
		Guadagni	
Page 16:	Air, 'Father of Heaven,' ⁴⁵	Guarducci	
		Guadagni	
		Tenducci	
Page 19:	Duet ⁴⁶ , 'O lovely Peace'	Guadagni	
		Mrs Weichsel	

The identification of these solo singers is dealt with later in this chapter (see pages 248 and 253).

The 1767 Season

Two Command Performances were given at Covent Garden this season, on 20 March and 1 April.

The Cast

Little contemporary evidence about the 1767 Lenten oratorio singers appears to be available. At the Foundling Hospital performance of Messiah on Wednesday 29 April, Frasi, Brent, Scott, Clarke and Champness were the soloists.⁴⁷ Vernon was on the staff of Drury Lane⁴⁸; as were both Scott and Champness. It seems more likely that Vernon would have been engaged again, rather than Clarke.

Possibly the solists were:

[?] Giulia Frasi [S], Charlotte Brent (Mrs Pinto) [S],
Isabella Scott [S2],
Joseph Vernon [T], Samuel Champness [B].

The Word-book for 1767

The Undated Post-1766 Word-books

In HDOM, Winton Dean wrote that there are 'a number of undated and incorrectly dated issues, especially of Judas Maccabaeus, that pose baffling problems of identification.'⁴⁹ Following that of 1766, I have found no dated word-book for London performances until 1778. There are, however, a number of undated copies which, from the names and addresses of the printers and publishers on the title page, appear to relate to revivals made under the

direction of Smith and Stanley (see pages 250-251 below). Notices in the newspapers make it clear that word-books of Judas Maccabaeus were still being sold. For example, on 20 March 1767, The Daily Advertiser (No. 10,098) announced that a new word-book was on sale 'Printed for S. Hooper, at the East Corner of the New Church, Strand.' But I have been unable to locate a copy dated 1767. Hooper's name appeared on the title page of the 1764 and 1766 word-books. It could be that after 1766 the text of the word-book from that year was re-used with a new title-page.

The 1768 Season

There were two Command Performances of Judas Maccabaeus at Covent Garden this season: on 4 and 18 March.

The Cast

A revival of Messiah on 10 December 1767 at the Haberdasher's Hall in Maiden Lane had Frasi, Scott, Battishill and Champness as the soloists.⁵⁰ For a revival of Joseph this season, the singers included Frasi, Scott and Guarducci.⁵¹ Vernon, Reinhold Jnr., Mrs Barthélemon and Mrs Mattocks could not have sung at Covent Garden on 4 March. They were involved that evening in a performance of Arnold's The Cure of Saul at Drury Lane.⁵²

It is possible that the soloists were:

[?] Giulia Frasi [S],
Isabella Scott [S2], Tommaso Guarducci [S2],
Jonathan Battishill [T], Samuel Champness [B].

The Word-book for 1768

Lowndes Edition [14]

Exemplars:

National Library of Scotland, BH.Lib.99; British Library, 11630.d.4(13); Royal College of Music Library, XX1.C.13(4); Manchester Public Library, Newman Flower Collection, B.R.310.1Hd 674(10); and Princeton University Library, USA, (Ex) ML53.2. J82H36.

The Public Advertiser of 19 February 1768 announced that T.Lowndes in Fleet Street offers 'All the other Oratorios composed by Mr Handel.' This was the first time such an announcement had appeared. The five extant undated copies state, at the bottom of their title page, that they were 'Printed for the Administrator of J.Watts; and sold by T.Lowndes, in Fleet Street.'

Although, as mentioned above, I have not discovered a word-book dated 1765, it seems unlikely that Edition 14 dates from that year. The title pages of the 1764 and 1766 editions are similar, but differ considerably from these undated books. Here the decoration on the title page, as well as the announcement 'sold by T.Lowndes in Fleet Street.' appeared for the first time. The dedication was printed in both the 1764 and 1766 copies, but for the first time ever there is no dedication to the Duke of Cumberland in these undated copies. He died in 1765. In them, too, the decoration of the capital letters at the beginning of Part One (only) has been restored, but with a different wood-cut.

The sequence of movements in these undated books is identical, and maintains the same movement order as used

in 1764. The copy in Manchester Public Library has a suggested date of 1763, whilst the identical British Library copy has the suggested date of 1768 written in manuscript on the title page.

In view of The Public Advertiser announcement, it could well be that these word-books relate to the 1768 revivals, although the difference in the line decoration in the Princeton University copy on the title page and on pages 8 and 13 suggests that that is a slightly later issue. It is currently catalogued as dating from 1768, but it could possibly date from 1769 or 1770.

The 1769 Season

Five performances were given in London this season. At Covent Garden it was performed on 22 February and 10 March; both were 'By Command'. At the Haymarket Judas Maccabaeus was given on 10 February, 3 March, and 18 April.

The Cast

It seems likely that the soloists for the Foundling Hospital performance of Messiah on Wednesday 29 November would have also been in the team for Judas Maccabaeus this season. They were Weichsel, Scott, Hayes and Champness.⁵³ Guarducci's name has '69' annotated beside it in the Coke Handel Collection word-book, C.13, dated 1766, so he could also have been involved in the performances of Judas Maccabaeus during the Lenten season at Covent Garden.

The violinist Felice de Giardini led and directed in performances of Judas Maccabaeus at the Haymarket

Theatre.⁵⁴ For a performance of Samson there on 22 February, given simultaneously with Judas Maccabaeus at Covent Garden, the soloists were Pinto, Mattocks, Jewel, Vernon and Reinhold Jnr.⁵⁵ It could well be that this team of soloists sang with the orchestra under Giardini's direction at the Haymarket Theatre for the first two performances of Judas Maccabaeus given there this season. The third performance at the Haymarket would appear to have been a different production. That performance was led by Abraham Fisher, and the soloists were Frasi, Scott, Weichsel, Parsons and Champness.⁵⁶

It is likely that the Covent Garden soloists were:

[?] Giulia Frasi [S], Frederica Weichsel [S],
Isabella Scott [S2], Tommaso Guarducci [S2],
Philip Hayes [T], Samuel Champness [B].

The soloists at the Haymarket were:

1. for the first two performances:

[?]Charlotte Brent (Mrs Pinto from 1766) [S],
Isabella Mattocks [S2], Mrs Jewel [S2],
Joseph Vernon [T], Frederick Charles Reinhold [B].

2. for the third performance:

Giulia Frasi [S], Frederica Weichsel [S],
Isabella Scott [S2],
William Parsons [T], Samuel Champness [B].

The Word-books for 1769

It is unclear which word-books were used for the 1769 performances. But, as I have suggested above, it is possible

that the exemplar of Lowndes Edition [14] in Princeton University Library, USA, (Ex) ML53.2. J82H36, relates to one of the revivals this season, as does the annotated Edition 13 exemplar, Coke Handel, C.13. Two other word-books apply to the later performances of Judas Maccabaeus:

Johnson's Edition [15]

Exemplars: National Library of Scotland, B.H.Lib.95; British Library, T 657(16); and Royal College of Music Library, XX.G.22(11) and XX.G.22(12).

This undated word-book states on the title page:

Judas Macchabaeus/ A/Sacred Drama.

As it is performed at the

Theatre Royal/In Covent-Garden.

The Musick composed by Mr. Handel.

London: Printed for E.Johnson (Successor to Mr B.Dod, by whom it was many years sold) at N^o 12, Ave-Mary- Lane. / [Price One Shilling.]

On the second page of this edition, underneath the list of Dramatis Personae, appears the statement:

This Edition is correctly printed from the last of the Administration of Mr. Watts, or his Assigns, and is done on the Principle of Lex Talionis; for as he or they have several Times printed Messiah, which E.Johnson has a Property in, and he or they have none, he has thought it is perfectly justifiable to avail himself of the Advantage (which yet is far from being adequate to the Injury he has received by that Means) of printing Judas.

... His Property in Messiah is derived from the

Compiler of it, who is now living, and is a Gentleman of a very respectable Character, and of a very opulent Fortune.

The 'Lex Talionis' (law of retaliation) announcement suggests a date of 1768 or 1769, because it relates to a dispute at this period between the successors of Watts and Dod over the publication of the text for Messiah.⁵⁷ Charles Jennens, the 'compiler' of Messiah was still alive at this time; he did not die until 20 November 1773.

All the copies of this edition that I have discovered maintain the 1764 sequence of movements. The second word-book used in later performances of Judas Maccabaeus was:
Lowndes and Barker Edition [16]

Exemplar: National Library of Scotland, BH.Lib.96.

This has on its title page the following information:

JUDAS MACCABAEUS./ A/ SACRED DRAMA/ As it is performed at/
The THEATRES ROYAL./ The Music composed by Mr. HANDEL./
LONDON:/ Printed for W.Lowndes, Fleet Street; and J.
Barker,/ Russell-Court, Drury-Lane.

From this it can be seen that W.Lowndes (as opposed to T.Lowndes) and J.Barker are now selling the word-book, and that for the first time, the 'Theatres Royal' are mentioned in the title.

The 1770 Season

In 1770 Smith and Stanley carried their Royal Prerogative to the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, possibly because relations with the Covent Garden manager, George Colman, had become difficult; John Beard had ceased to

be in charge there from 1767.⁵⁸ Thus it was at Drury Lane that the Lenten Oratorio Seasons were held under Smith until 1774. Royal confidence survived the change of theatre; many of the oratorio performances there continued to be by Royal Command.

Four London performances of Judas Maccabaeus took place this season. At Drury Lane it was given on 7 and 21 March; both 'By Command'. The Public Advertiser announced that the First Violin was Mr Barthélemon, and that a concerto on the organ would be played by Mr Stanley. For the second performance it announced that the solo violoncello would be Mr Duport. At Covent Garden there was a performance on 7 March, a solo was to be played by Mr Giardini, First Violin, as well as an oboe concerto by Mr Fischer. The work was also given at the Haymarket on 4 May.⁵⁹ On the day of performance, The Public Advertiser (No. 11057) announced:

By Permission of the Lord Chamberlain

For the Benefit of Signora Frasi

At the Theatre Royal in the Haymarket

This morning will be performed the oratorio of

Judas Maccabaeus

under the direction of Messrs Giardini and Arnold.

First Violin and a solo by Giardini.

After the advertisement came:

Signora Frasi presents her most respectful compliments to all her friends, and is extremely sorry she is obliged to alter the time of her performance to the morning, owing to the principal Performers being

engaged. She hopes also they will excuse her not waiting upon them personally, having been confined for some Time by a bad state of health.

The Casts

As noted on page 244 above, an annotated copy of the word-book dated 1766 (Coke Handel Collection, C.13) has the names of Weichsel, Scott, Guadagni, Tenducci, Norris and Champness written in with ''70' after them. Presumably these were the Drury Lane soloists this season. Frasi's absence from all but her own Benefit is explained by her 'bad state of health'.

The Covent Garden performance were under the direction of Arnold and the violinist Giardini.⁶⁰ The soloists probably included Brent (who had sung at the Haymarket the previous season, but was not engaged for the Drury Lane performances), Mattocks, Vernon (who sang for Giardini this season at the Haymarket) and Reinhold.

Felice De Giardini also led the Haymarket revival. For that occasion it is known that his soloists were Frasi, Scott, Guadagni, Vernon and Champness.⁶¹

This season's soloists were:

i. Drury Lane:

[?] Frederica Weichsel [S],

Isabella Scott [S2],

Gaetano Guadagni [S2], Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci [S2],

Thomas Norris [T], Samuel Champness [B].

ii. Covent Garden:

[?] Charlotte Brent (Mrs Pinto) [S],

Isabella Mattocks [S2],

Joseph Vernon [T], Frederick Charles Reinhold [B].

iii. Haymarket:

Giulia Frasi [S],

Isabella Scott [S2], Gaetano Guadagni [S2],

Joseph Vernon [T], Samuel Champness [B].

The Word-books for 1770

It is possible that the Princeton University copy of the Lowndes Edition [14] was used for the revivals of this season. Other possibilities are Johnson's Edition [15] and Lowndes and Barker edition [16].

Revivals of Judas Maccabaeus were given at both Covent Garden and Drury Lane, simultaneously, on Wednesday 7 March 1770. For the Covent Garden revival it was announced that 'Books of the Performance were to be sold at the Theatre.'⁶² Since Edition 16 contained 'Theatres Royal' in the title page, it would seem likely that it was provided for revivals in 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773 when performances were given at both Covent Garden and Drury Lane, and in 1774 when Judas Maccabaeus was performed at Drury Lane.

At the end of this word-book, four verses of the National Anthem were printed, suggesting that it was to be sung by the audience.⁶³

It is possible that both the Johnson and the Lowndes and Barker word-books would have been on sale at bookshops during this period. As with all the word-books published

since 1764, the sequence of the movements remains the same.

The 1771 Season

Five performances of Judas Maccabaeus were given this season. At Drury Lane there were performances on 20 February and 6 March, both 'By Command'. For these The Public Advertiser announced that the First Violin would be played by Mr Barthélemon, and that Mr Stanley would play an organ concerto and Mr Duport an oboe concerto.

At Covent Garden the oratorio was performed on 15 February and 20 March. For the first of these it was announced in The Public Advertiser that a solo on the violin at the end of Part One and a concerto at the end of Part Two would be played by Signora Lombardini Sirmen. For the second performance the newspaper announced that Mr Florio would play a concerto on the German Flute, and that Sig^{ra} Sirmen would play a solo.

At the Haymarket there was a Benefit Performance for Frederica Weichsel on 12 April. The Public Advertiser of Tuesday 9 April announced that it was to be under the direction of Mr Stanley. It printed the information that:

In the course of the performance will be a new song by Mrs Weichsell (sic), set to Music by Mr Hook, with a Solo Accompaniment for the Pianoforte, Hautboy and Bassoon.

The Casts

There appears to be little reason to suppose the soloists were very different to those that had sung in the

1770 revivals at Drury Lane and Covent Garden; the same singers were all active in London this season.

The team for the Haymarket performance directed by Stanley consisted of Weichsel, Scott, Vernon and Champness.⁶⁴ Possibly Guadagni was also a member.

The soloists this season appear to have been:

i. Drury Lane:

[?] Frederica Weichsel [S],
Isabella Scott [S2], Gaetano Guadagni [S2],
Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci [S2],
Thomas Norris [T], Samuel Champness [B].

ii. Covent Garden:

[?] Charlotte Brent (Mrs Pinto) [S],
Isabella Mattocks [S2],
Joseph Vernon [T],
Frederick Charles Reinhold [B].

iii. Haymarket:

Frederica Weichsel [S],
Isabella Scott [S2], Gaetano Guadagni? [S2]
Joseph Vernon [T], Samuel Champness [B].

The 1771 Word-books

From 1771 onwards it would seem that there was no 'official' word-book. Possibly Lowndes and Barker Edition [16] applies to the Covent Garden and Drury Lane performances in 1771. Johnson's Edition [15] probably applies to the Haymarket performance. No doubt both word-books would have been on sale at booksellers. One copy of the word-book, Edition 10bii dated 1762, carries annotations of singers' names dated 1771:

Edition 10bii, British Library, 11771.h1 (5), dated 1762.

The names 'Mr Reynolds', 'Mr Champness, Junior', ' Boy' and '2 Boys', with '1771' attached, suggests that these sang in one of the performances that season. Champness here could be either Thomas, a minor canon of St Paul's Cathedral or Weldon Champness, lay vicar of Wesminster Abbey in 1771.⁶⁵ John Reynolds was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal.⁶⁶ From this information, and with boys taking solo roles, it is not possible, with any certainty, to allocate this annotated word-book to one of the London performances at Covent Garden, Drury Lane or the Haymarket. Possibly they sang in a Charity or Benefit performance of Judas Maccabaeus in 1771 at which the Chapel Royal choir provided both the chorus and some of the soloists.

The 1772 Season

Three performances of Judas Maccabaeus were given this season. On 13 March and 1 April there were performances at Drury Lane; both 'By Command'. For these performances The Public Advertiser announced that the First Violin and a solo would be played by Mr Ximenes (being the first time of his performance in public) and that Mr Janson would play a concerto on the violoncello.

On 11 March Judas Maccabaeus, directed by Arnold, was performed at Covent Garden. The Public Advertiser announced that for this Mr Duport would play a solo on the violoncello at the end of the First Part, and that Signora Lombardini Sirmen would play a violin concerto at the end of the Second Part.

The Casts

Renovations were being undertaken at the Haymarket Theatre this season,⁶⁷ so oratorios were only performed at Drury Lane and Covent Garden in 1772. Weichsel, Scott, Grassi, Norris and Parry were under contract to Drury Lane this season.⁶⁸

The soloists for Judas Maccabaeus were probably:

i. Drury Lane:

[?] Frederica Weichsel [S],
Isabella Scott [S2], Cecilia Grassi [S2],
Thomas Norris [T],
Mr Parry [B] or Samuel Champness [B].

ii. Covent Garden:

[?] Charlotte Pinto [S], Isabella Mattocks [S2],
Joseph Vernon [T],
Frederick Charles Reinhold [B], or
Samuel Champness [B].

The 1772 Word-book

It is likely that the Lowndes and Barker Edition [16] was used at both theatres for the 1772 performances; possibly the Johnson Edition was available from bookshops.

The 1773 season

Four performances of Judas Maccabaeus were given this season. On 26 February, 3 and 19 March it was performed at Drury Lane; the latter was 'By Command'. On 12 March it was performed at Covent Garden, directed by Arne.⁶⁹

The Casts

The cast for the Drury Lane performances was given in various editions of The Public Advertiser.⁷⁰ It consisted of the two Linleys, Weichsel, Norris and Parry. For the first performance the newspaper announced that a concerto on the violin would be played at the end of the First Act by Mr Thomas Linley. For the second performance it was announced that at the end of the First Act Mr Stanley would play an organ concerto. For the third performance, at the end of the First Act, Mr Thomas Linley was to play the First Concerto in 'Giminiari's 3rd Opera' (i.e. Geminiani's Op.3).

At Covent Garden, the soloists were Catley, Mattocks, Venables, Ristorini and Reinhold.⁷¹ On 11 and 12 March The Public Advertiser announced that at the end of Act One a concerto on the french horn would be played by Mr Spandau. At the end of Act Two a concerto on the violin would be played by Mr Barthélemon.

So:

i. The Drury Lane soloists were:

Elizabeth Linley [S], Frederica Weichsel [S],

Mary Linley [S2],

Thomas Norris [T], Mr Parry [B].

ii. The Covent Garden soloists were:

Anne Catley [S],

Isabella Mattocks [S2], Sig. Ristorini [S2],

Mr Venables [T], Frederick Charles Reinhold [B].

The Word-book for 1773

It would seem that the Lowndes and Barker Edition [16] was used once again for the performances at both theatres, with the Johnson Edition available for purchase at the bookshops.

The 1774 Season

Two performances were given at Drury Lane; on 18 February and 9 March. For both performances The Public Advertiser noted that, 'at the end of Part One a Concerto on the oboe will be played by Mr Fisher; at the end of Part Two a concerto on the violin will be given by Mr Vashon'.

The Cast

No oratorios were given at Covent Garden this season. The 1774 Drury Lane singers included Galli, who had returned to England in 1773.⁷² Scott, Norris and Champness sang at the Haymarket. Simultaneously with Judas Maccabaeus on the 18 February at Drury Lane, Messiah was performed at the Haymarket, with Mrs Barthélemon, Mrs Scott, Vernon and Champness singing solo parts.⁷³ The same singers were also involved in the performance of Omnipotence, Arnold's pastiche of Handel's music, on Wednesday 9 March.⁷⁴ So they could not have been singing at Drury Lane on either evening.

Performances of Messiah were given this season at Drury Lane on Wednesday 16 March and Friday 18 March (the latter simultaneously with a performance of the same work at the Haymarket). When it was performed at the Foundling Hospital

Chapel on Saturday 26 March the soloists were Miss Davis, Mrs Wrighten, Norris and Reinhold.⁷⁵ On Wednesday 30 March in a performance of Giardini's Ruth at the Lock Hospital Chapel, Miss Davies, Mrs Wrighten, Sig^{ra} Galli, Vernon and Champness were engaged.⁷⁶ So it is probable that the Drury Lane soloists were:

[?] Caterina Galli [S],
Miss Davies (or Davis) [S2], Mrs Wrighten [S2],
Thomas Norris [T], Frederick Charles Reinhold [B].

The Word-book for 1774

As in the last few seasons it is likely that the Lowndes and Barker Edition [16] was used for the 1774 performances; but the Johnson Edition (with the identical lay-out of movements) would probably have been available for purchase from the bookshops.

The Evolution of Judas Maccabaeus, 1760-1774

From the study of revivals of Judas Maccabaeus during the period recorded in this chapter, it can be seen that some of the movement sequences in the oratorio continued to change until 1764.

In 1760 there were no changes to the scheme of movements, but between 1761 and 1763, the airs, 'Far brighter than the morning'(30/-/-) from Part One, and 'Flowing Joys'(41/-/-) from Part Two were omitted or restored in some performances. In 1764, the following movements were omitted:

Part One:

recitative, 'Haste we'(31/25/-).

Part Two:

recitative, 'Well may we hope'(40/-/B) and

air, 'Flowing Joys' (41/-/-). Then

recitative, 'Enough to Heav'n'(57/47/A) and

air, 'With pious Hearts (58/48/27a).

recitative, 'Ye worshippers of God' (59/49/B)

This recitative now began at 'No more
in Sion'.

The pattern this established in 1764 was continued with no further alterations for the following ten years, although a change of voice was made to the recitative 'Not vain' and the air, 'Pious Orgies' in one unidentified performance (see page 226). From the annotations in one copy of the word-book, Edition 10bii, dated 1762 (British Library, 11771. H1(5)) it appears that at some time in 1771 Champness sang both items.

Appendix Charts 12, 13, and 15 plot the evolution of the oratorio during the period 1760-1774. The accompanying Notes and References amplify information in those charts. They also provide supplementary information about a number of musical matters, derived from the autograph and conducting scores, which apply to London performances of Judas Maccabaeus during this period.

In the conducting score of Judas Maccabaeus certain soloists' names are annotated on folios inserted for performances during this period. These are:

'Well may we hope (40/-/B): 'Sig^{ra} Mosor' and 'Miss
Young' on f.17 of Pt.2.
'Flowing Joys' (41/-/-): 'Sig^r Tenducci' 'A third
higher' 'Sig^{ra} Mosor' /
'Tenducci' on f.17 of Pt.2.

'Ye Worshippers of God'
(59/49/B): 'Sig^{ra} Mosor' and
'Tenducci' on f.52v.of
Pt.2.

A full list of the soloists' names, from annotations found both in the conducting score and in the word-books, is given in Appendix Chart 16.

The Randall Edition of the score, published in 1769

Proposals were advertised by William Randall in 1768 to publish a printed score of Judas Maccabaeus.⁷⁷ Subscribers were sought who would be willing to support this venture by paying one and a half guineas. Notices about this proposal appeared in The Public Advertiser of 13 February and 13 August. On Saturday 14 January 1769, The Public Advertiser (No. 10675) carried the following notice:

Music/ Next week will be ready to deliver to the
subscribers / the Complete Score of the Oratorio of /
Judas Maccchabeus Printed for William Randall,
Successor to the late/ Mr Walsh, in Catherine Street,
in the Strand.

N.B. those Ladies and Gentlemen who have been so kind
as to encourage this work, are desired to send back

their Receipts, with the second subscription, when their Books will be delivered as above./ Where may be had,/ The Complete Scores of Messiah, Samson, Alexander's Feast, and Acis and Galatea. Likewise all Mr/ Handel's works. With the greatest Variety of Music,/ of all kinds, and of everybody's Printing.

On Monday 16 January 1769 The Public Advertiser (No. 10676) stated that the Music of Judas Maccabaeus was now ready to deliver to the subscribers.

Randall's edition was prefaced with the composer's portrait by Houbraken, a late impression from the plate first used in Walsh's edition of Alexander's Feast in 1736. This was followed by the title page, two pages devoted to a list of subscribers, an index, 208 pages of music, and then a four-page catalogue of vocal and instrumental music sold by the firm of Randall.

The title page reads:

Judas Macchabaeus/ AN/ORATORIO/ in Score / As it was Originally Perform'd/ composed by/ Mr HANDEL/ with/ HIS ADDITIONAL ALTERATIONS/ London Printed for William Randall Successor to / the late Mr J.Walsh in Catharine St in the Strand/ of whom may be had the compleat scores of Messiah, Samson, Alexander's Feast, Acis and Galatea &c.

The 208 pages of music consist of movements as they are shown in Appendix Chart 14. Randall made use of the Walsh plates where possible, having cleaned off the singers' names and the original pagination. Unfortunately this edition is a mixture of original and revival items. For example:

1. the extended ending of the air, 'O Liberty' (15/15/9) was printed, instead of that used by Handel in this oratorio.
- ii. the recitative, 'Well may we hope' (37/30/A) is wrongly placed. Handel introduced it into the oratorio in 1750 ending in D major to lead into the A major air, 'Flowing Joys' (38/-/20a) as can be seen in Part Two of the conducting score on f.18. Then, in 1758, when the duet and chorus, 'Sion now her Head shall raise,' (39/31/20b and -/32/-) was introduced, the recitative and air were transferred to follow the inserted movements (thus becoming 40/-/B and 41/-/-). At that stage there was no change of key either to the recitative or to the air. In 1762, 'Flowing Joys' was transposed into E major: to accommodate this, the recitative was transposed to end in E major, as can be seen in the conducting score on f.17. Until it was finally removed from the oratorio in 1764, the recitative remained in E major, but it always followed 'Sion now', it never preceded it. Randall misplaced this recitative, using the version ending in D major to lead into 'Sion now', which it never did under Handel or Smith's direction. 'Flowing Joys' was not printed in this edition.
- iii. the recitative, 'From Capharsalama' (item 66/57/AB) was printed in its original version ending in A major. But by 1750 it had been changed to lead into the G major 'Joshua' choruses associated with 'See the conqu'ring Hero comes'. No notice was taken by Randall

of the revised 1750 D major ending of the recitative. So, in this edition the A major recitative ending leads into the G major choruses.

A number of later editions continued these several idiosyncrasies, which explain the confusion over these matters in all the current performing editions of this oratorio. The Randall Edition was the first complete edition of Judas Maccabaeus to be published, but unfortunately it does not reflect the form in which the oratorio was performed by the time the edition was being prepared or printed, nor does it represent exactly any one version as performed by the composer.

The Retirement of J.C.Smith the younger in 1774

We may surmise that Smith's oratorio ventures prospered. William Coxe tells us how Smith was introduced to King George III soon after the accession, and how he managed to persuade the new King to patronize his oratorio performances.⁷⁸ Coxe wrote:

The produce from the Oratorios answered Mr Smith's expectations every year, and in 1769, when Miss Linley sung, the advantage was increased in a great degree. But when she declined singing in public, and the King was prevented from appearing in public by the Queen's lying-in during Lent, the Oratorios were much deserted, and performed almost to empty houses. Smith therefore, thought it most advisable to resign the conduct of these performances, lest, by persisting, he should have the misfortune to lose what he had formerly gained. He

quitted the neighbourhood of London, and retired to a house he had recently bought, in Brock-street, Bath. But a little sifting of this information is necessary.

Elizabeth Linley, who was born in Bath in 1754, made her London debut at Covent Garden in 1767 in Thomas Hull's masque The Fairy Favour. She sang in the Lenten oratorio seasons until her marriage to Richard Brinsley Sheridan in 1773; but I have been unable to discover any evidence that she took part in a performance of Judas Maccabaeus until that at Drury Lane on 26 February 1773. By that time she had obviously made a great impression.

Coxe's Anecdotes were published in 1799. Following Elizabeth Linley's successful Lenten oratorio season at Drury Lane in 1773, a differing contemporary view to that quoted by Coxe was expressed in The Westminster Magazine of March 1773:

One of those whims by which the public are continually influenced, has made it the ton (i.e. prevailing fashion) to resort to this theatre to hear and see Miss Linley, the syren of Bath. This young lady who is greatly indepted to nature for the eclat with which she is followed, and not a little to the fortuitous concurrence of remarkable incidents in her life, has drawn crowded houses incessantly: and this success has been insured by the constant attendance of his Majesty and the Royal family at this theatre.⁷⁹

In 1774 Smith and Stanley jointly directed the Lenten oratorio season for the last time. On 13 May 1774 they settled their account with the Treasurer of Drury Lane

Theatre by paying in £24 for each of their eleven Oratorio Nights.⁸⁰ Smith was well over sixty years of age, and at this period various changes affected his potential casts of soloists. Sheridan had forbidden his wife to sing professionally any more.⁸¹ Champness also decided to retire.⁸² An end of an era had been reached.

Conclusions

Appendix Chart 11 shows that forty-six London performances of Judas Maccabaeus were given between 1760 and 1774. Of these, thirty-two were part of Smith's Lenten Oratorio season, and fourteen were given under different auspices.

The oratorio continued to grow in popularity. It was performed every year in London from 1760 until 1774; five times in 1769 and 1771; four times in 1760, 1762, 1770 and 1773; three times in 1761, 1765, and 1772; twice in 1764, 1766, 1767, 1768 and 1774, and once in 1763. It was chosen to open the refurbished Great Music Room in Dean Street, Soho in January 1760. King George III gave it good support at the beginning of his reign, and there were Command Performances in 1761, two in 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, and 1766. In 1770, on Wednesday 7 March, the work was performed at Covent Garden and Drury Lane simultaneously. Its popularity far exceeded that of any other Handel oratorio, with the exception of Messiah.

In performances under Smith's direction the overall movement sequence did not change significantly between 1760 and 1764. It then remained static for the remainder

of his time at Drury Lane. However, performance circumstances from 1760 onwards were responsible for a number of variations. Five or six soloists, in contrast to the four for whom the score had originally been written, were commonly engaged. For some performances, as at Drury Lane in 1770, there could have been as many as six soloists. From the original performance onwards only one tenor and one bass soloist appear to have been engaged for each performance. But frequently the soprano solo movements were allotted to additional soloists. Ostensibly this duplication was to accommodate movement changes, but it may have been due to the need to introduce variety and additional box-office appeal, as when the Linley sisters were engaged to sing at Drury Lane in 1773.

Appendix 16 shows that the conducting score bears testimony to its use in performances under Smith at Drury Lane until sometime after 1765. It is not known what performing material was used in other London performances, although it is reasonable to suppose that in the early 1760s access to the conducting score and other performance material used by Smith might have been made available. It is significant that rival performances became frequent after 1769; the oratorio being given at the Haymarket from 1769 - 1771, and at Covent Garden from 1770-1773.

It might be surmised that the publication of the Randall edition in 1769 provided the Haymarket and Covent Garden directors with an acceptable score and a source for performance material.

Newspaper correspondence and advertisements tell us something about the post-Handel performances. From a complaining correspondent⁸³ we know that the organ continuo playing was too loud on one occasion. Advertisements also tell us that Stanley frequently played organ concertos as entr'actes. Concertos were now played between Parts One and Two. Miss Frederick not only sang the alto solos in the 1760 Soho performance, she also played an organ concerto before Part Two. No doubt she preferred to perform the concerto there, rather than just before her important contribution, the air, 'Father of Heav'n' (62/53/29), at the beginning of Part Three. Towards the end of the period under review solos, as well as concertos, were played at the end of Part One. Concerto playing obviously thrived; violin and oboe solos supplemented those played on the organ. At Covent Garden in 1773 a french horn solo was given at the end of Part One.

In this period it would seem that the oratorio was not always directed from the keyboard, as in Handel's time. From 1760 we may deduce that for some performances certain movements of the work were directed by the Principal Violinist.⁸⁴ Newspaper advertisements imply that in 1760 Passerini was similarly responsible at the January Soho performances. At the Haymarket performances Giardini and Fisher (in 1769) and Giardini (in 1770) were directing some of the proceedings.⁸⁵

By the late 1760s musical taste was changing. The J.C.Bach-Abel concerts introduced music written later than that by Handel. Various pot-pourri versions of Handel's

music were tried, in which Smith, Morell and Arnold were involved; but none of those entertainments had the continued box-office appeal of Judas Maccabaeus.

The Title of the Oratorio

Variations in the spelling of the title of this oratorio have occurred from its earliest days. Handel used 'Judas Maccabaeus' as the title on the first folio in the autograph score (Lbl, RM 20 e 12). At the beginning of the conducting score (D-Hs MA/ 1026) the same spelling was written; but this is in a later hand than that of J.C.Smith the older. The spelling 'Judas Maccabeus' was used in The Apocrypha (e.g. 1.Maccabees, 3,1), and in 1737 by both Cruden in his Concordance (e.g. the first entry of 'M' in the Apocrypha section), and also by Whiston in his translation of The Antiquities of the Jews (e.g. 12.6.1).

The Latinised form introduced an 'h' into the name. For example it appears as 'Judas Machabaeus' in the Vulgate and in Summa Theologica by Thomas Aquinas.⁸⁶ J.C.Smith the older, possibly using Morell's draft when copying out the Larpent submission, used the spelling 'Judas Macchabaeus' (see Appendix, p.A20), and this style was used by Watts and Dod in their original word-book (see Appendix, pp.A3 and A5).

Handel used the Latinised form in three places in the autograph score; for the recitatives, 'Not vain is all this storm of grief' (on f.17v., see Chapter 2, p. 95), 'I feel the Deity within' (on f.26), and ''Tis well, my

Friends' (on f.32). J.C.Smith the older in turn copied this Latinised form in Part One of the conducting score on ff.23, 33v. and 43 respectively. As explained in Chapter 2, pages 36-39 above, Handel must initially have worked from a copy of the libretto, now lost, supplied by Morell. Watts and Dod probably received their copy of the text from Morell. All the word-books from 1747 until 1774 carried the title 'Judas Macchabaeus'. It would seem that Morell's Latinity was responsible for this spelling of the oratorio.

Another version of the title, 'JUDAS MACCHABOEUS', appeared in the The Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser, (No.10,927) on Friday 23 March 1764, announcing a performance that evening at Covent Garden. This spelling was printed in the same newspaper on Wednesday 28 March (No. 10,931), and again on Wednesday 4 April 1764 (No. 10,937), when a performance of the oratorio was given that evening 'By their Majesties Command'. It was also used in advertising the later publications of the music by Walsh's successors, Randall and Wright. It would appear that the mid-eighteenth century fashion of printing the 'a' and the 'e' as a dipthong was responsible for this misspelling.

It is perhaps impossible to establish an unequivocally 'correct' spelling for the name of the hero of this oratorio. For the title, however, it would seem logical to retain Handel's own spelling, as he wrote it at the beginning of the autograph score of Judas Maccabaeus.

CHAPTER 6.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See Coxe, Anecdotes (Da Capo Press, 1979), pp.39, 52-53, 55, and the Introduction, xiii (by P.M.Young).
2. The London Stage, part 4, vol.2, p.770.
3. The London Stage, op.cit., p.776.
4. See McCredie, 'John Smith as a Dramatic Composer', Music and Letters., XLV(1964), p.38.
5. I have assumed that this was the Robert Hudson who in 1758 had been appointed a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. See The New Grove, vol.8, p.762.
6. See Appendix Chart 11, p. 144.
7. The London Stage, op.cit., pp.844, 847.
8. See McCredie, op.cit., pp. 24, 34, 37, and the Walsh printed score of Rebecca (exemplar; Lcm,xviii.A12 (1)).
9. The London Stage does not list this, but it was first announced in The Public Advertiser, No.8199, on Friday 13 February 1761, stating 'Tickets to be had of Signora Frasi, at her house in Macclesfield Street, Soho. NB. As several of the Principal Performers are engaged in the Opera on the 23rd instant, the above performance is obliged to be postponed to Thursday the 5 March, where Tickets delivered for Monday, the 23rd February will be taken.'
10. The London Stage, op.cit., p.920.
11. Direktionspartituren, p.226.

12. Ibid., p.169. The word-book Clausen refers to is Edition 10b; see pp.225-230. The names annotated in this word-book are not the same as those in the conducting score quoted by Clausen.
13. Now Manager. John Rich had died on 26 November 1761.
14. 'Collated /& Perfect/J.P.K. 1804' is written on the title page. These are the initials of John Philip Kemble (1757-1823), the actor who amassed a collection of theatrical material. Circa 1820, the Kemble Collection was sold to the sixth Duke of Devonshire. It was acquired by the Huntington Library in 1914 (Huntington Library Bulletin, No.1., May 1931). It is known as the Kemble-Devonshire Collection.
15. Presumably 'Far brighter than the Morning'(see p.229).
16. The London Stage, op.cit., p.980.
17. The London Stage, op.cit., p.992.
18. See Foundling Hospital Messiah Accounts for 29 April 1763.
19. See The Public Advertiser, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday 28 February, 1 and 2 March 1763 (Nos.8837-9).
20. See op.cit., Friday 25 February (No. 8835). The riots were in protest at the withdrawal of the concession whereby customers were admitted at half price for the third Act. The damages was estimated at £2,000.
21. The London Stage, part 5, vol.1, pp.107, 152-3, 155.
22. Advertised as Judas Macchaboeus in The Gazatteer and London Daily Advertiser (No.10,927) of Friday 23 March 1764.

23. Op.cit.(No.10,937). A 'Concerto on the Organ by Stanley'
was also to be included in the performance.
24. The London Stage, op.cit., p.1043.
25. Clausen, Direktionspartituren, p. 132.
26. The London Stage, op.cit., p.1049.
27. The London Stage, op.cit., p.1056.
28. The London Stage, op.cit., p.1062.
29. The London Stage, op.cit., p.1047.
30. The New Grove, vol.20, p.235.
31. Printed incorrectly on the title page, but correctly on
p.2.
32. The Public Advertiser, February 15, 18, 20, 21 and 22
(Nos. 9451, 9453, 9455, 9457 and 9458) respectively.
33. On Thursday 7 and Friday 8 March.
34. Op.cit., on Thursday and Friday 21 and 22 March, now
numbered as 94680 and 94681.
35. Op.cit., No. 94678.
36. The London Stage, op.cit., p.1096.
37. Direktionspartituren, p.104.
38. Ibid.,p.162.
39. Plomer: A Dictionary of the Printers and
Booksellers ... 1726-1775,p.76.
40. No. 11,534.
41. Op.cit., Friday 14 March, No. 11,546.
42. The London Stage, op.cit., p.1167.
43. The London Stage, op.cit., p.1127.
44. The Duke of Cumberland died on 31 October 1765.
45. 'Heav'n' printed incorrectly for the first time in any
word-book.

46. Printed thus (not 'Air') for the first time in any word-book.
47. See Foundling Hospital sub-committee minutes giving performance accounts for 29 April 1767.
48. The London Stage, op.cit., p.1214.
49. P.97.
50. The London Stage, part 4, vol.3, p. 1298.
51. Clausen, op. cit., p.166.
52. The London Stage, op.cit., p.1315.
53. See Foundling Hospital sub-committee minutes for Expense Accounts of 29 November 1769.
54. The Principal Violinist directed the orchestra in both the instrumental and solo vocal movements. See McVeigh, The Violinist in London's Concert Life, p.120.
55. Isaac Reed Diaries, quoted in The London Stage, part 4, vol.3, p.1387.
56. The London Stage op. cit., p.1399.
57. See Dean, HDOM, pp.99-100.
58. See Survey of London, vol.xxxv, pp.75-76.
59. The London Stage, op.cit., p.1474.
60. See McVeigh, op.cit., p.287.
61. The London Stage ,op.cit., p.1474.
62. The London Stage, op.cit., p.1459.
63. This had the three verses as printed in The Gentleman's Magazine of October 1745, except that the second line of verse three is now 'On him be pleas'd to pour', rather than the earlier version, 'On George be pleased to pour'. The following fourth verse, however, had not appeared in the 1745 publication:

O grant him long to see,

Friendship and unity,

Always increase;

May he his sceptre sway,

All loyal souls obey,

Join heart and voice ...huzza! GOD save the KING.

This version is not quoted in Chappell's Popular Music of the Olden Time, nor in all the articles on 'God save the King' in any edition of Grove's Dictionary.

64. The London Stage, op.cit., p. 1540.

65. See The New Grove, vol 4, p.129.

66. See Matthews, Members of the Royal Society of Musicians 1738-1984, p.122.

67. The London Stage, op.cit., p.1569.

68. The London Stage, op.cit., p.1567.

69. See McVeigh, op.cit., p.287.

70. From 19-26 February; 27 February-3 March; 18-19 March.

71. See The Public Advertiser 11-12 March.

72. See The New Grove, vol 7, p.104.

73. The London Stage, op.cit., p.1786.

74. The London Stage, op.cit., p.1791.

75. The London Stage, op.cit., p.1797.

76. Ibid.

77. On the death of his cousin John Walsh, William Randall (c.1728-1776), together with his partner John Abell, inherited the extensive Walsh publishing business. They published, for the first time, the complete full scores of a number of Handel's oratorios, beginning with Messiah in 1767. John Abell died on 29

July 1768, and thereafter William Randall carried on the business alone (see The New Grove, vol.15, p.581).

78. Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel and John Christopher Smith (1799. Reprinted Da Capo Press, 1979), pp. 52-3, 55.
79. See The London Stage, part 4, vol.3, p.1697.
80. See The London Stage, op. cit., p.1812.
81. See Fiske, English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century, Second Edition, p.413.
82. See The London Stage, op.cit., p.1812.
83. In a letter published in The Public Advertiser, 19 March 1765.
84. See McVeigh, op.cit., p.120.
85. See The Public Advertiser, Wednesday 1 February 1769 (Giardini); Monday 17 April 1769 (Fisher); Saturday 3 March 1770 (Giardini).
86. See Roth, The Standard Jewish Encyclopedia, p.1242.

CHAPTER 7.

THE CRITICAL RECEPTION OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS: 1747-1774

Reception during the Lifetime of the Composer

There is little written evidence about the reception of Judas Maccabaeus during Handel's lifetime. A search through the Early English Newspapers shows that forthcoming performances were well advertised, but no leading articles about the oratorio were published, nor was there any correspondence about it in the papers. There is, therefore, no contemporary critical printed literature about Judas Maccabaeus. Following the defeat of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the decline in Jacobitism, the oratorio was not attacked by either Tories or Nonjurors in the Opposition Press. In spite of its topical origin it was an uncontroversial work; its political message was of a generalised nature, unlike that of the Occasional Oratorio.

A number of contemporaries recorded their appreciation of the oratorio, or parts of it. Catherine Talbot writing to Mrs Elizabeth Carter on 18 April 1747 about a concert for the Musicians Fund, which was probably a performance of Judas Maccabaeus ¹ claimed:

Those oratorios of Handel's are certainly (next to the hooting of owls) the most solemnly striking music one can hear. ... In this last oratorio he has literally introduced guns, and they have a good effect.

As Deutsch suggests, the 'guns' were probably kettle-drums.²

Lady Luxborough, in a letter to William Shenstone on 28 April 1748, wrote:

Our friend Outing (her Steward)... went ... to the oratorio of Judas Maccabaeus, where he was highly entertained, and he speaks with such ecstasy of the music, as I confess I cannot conceive any one can feel who understands no more of music than myself, which I take to be his case. But I suppose he sets his judgement true to that of the multitude, for if his ear is not enough to distinguish the harmony, it serves to hear what the multitude say of it.³

On 27 March 1756, Mrs Delany wrote that she had been at Judas Maccabaeus the previous evening. She reported:

It was charming, and full. "Israel in Egypt"

did not take, it is too solemn for common ears.⁴

Clearly, the London oratorio-going public approved of Judas Maccabaeus. It received thirty-three London performances in Handel's lifetime, second only to the thirty-six received by Messiah.⁵ It was revived every year except one (1749) at Covent Garden during the Lenten Oratorio season. The Box Office receipts for Judas Maccabaeus were good; Handel's bank deposits showed a healthy consistency following the early performances.⁶ Items from Judas Maccabaeus became popular. 'Come, ever-smiling Liberty' (16/16/10) was sung by Domenica Casarini on 5 April 1748 at the King's Theatre in a Benefit Concert for Decay'd Musicians.⁷ The air, ''Tis Liberty, dear Liberty alone' (18/18/11) was quoted in a 'Song on a Goldfinch

flying out at the Window while a Lady was playing and singing 'Dear Liberty', dating from about 1750.⁸ It concludes:

His Prison broke, he seeks the distant Plain,
Yet e'er he flies tunes forth this parting strain ...
Liberty, dear Liberty,
Forgive me, Mistress, since by thee
I first was taught sweet Liberty.

'The March in Judas Maccabaeus' was played at the Haymarket Theatre in a performance of The Orphan on 18 October 1750, and on 27 December 1751 in The Old Woman's Oratory. A repeat performance of the latter, at which The March was also played, was given at the Castle Tavern on 7 January 1752.⁹ The air, 'Father of Heav'n' (62/53/29), sung by Caterina Galli, was included in the Benefit Concerts for Decay'd Musicians given at the King's Theatre on 16 April 1751 and 24 March 1752.¹⁰

In its first decade the popularity of Judas Maccabaeus was such that performances of the oratorio were used to raise money for charities. Performances of the oratorio were given in aid of Dublin charities in 1748, 1750 and 1751,¹¹ and at the King's Theatre, London, in aid of the Lock Hospital Building Fund, on 7 May 1753.¹² In the provinces it proved popular. Salisbury heard it in 1752 and Gloucester in 1754 and 1757.¹³ It was performed at the Oxford (Sheldonian) Theatre for the Commemoration of Founders and Benefactors on 4 July 1754 and 6 July 1756.¹⁴ It was also performed in the Oxford Music Room on 2 July 1755.¹⁵

Reception in the period following Handel's death, 1760-1774

Four clergymen commented upon Judas Maccabaeus in the period soon after the composer's death. In 1760, John Mainwaring in his anonymous Memoirs of the late George Frederick Handel¹⁶ described 'From this dread scene' as 'one of several pieces in Handel's oratorios of distinguished beauty'. Also in 1760, John Langhorne, another Divine, published The Tears of Music: A Poem to the Memory of Mr Handel.¹⁷ In that poem Judas Maccabaeus was singled out for its excellence; far more space was devoted to it than to other oratorios by Handel. On pages 14 and 15 was printed:

[p.14] Flow, stupid Tears! and veil the conscious Eye
That yet presumes to gaze -
Flow, stupid Tears! in vain - yet too confess
That He alone unequal'd Sorrow bore.

But, hark! what pleasing Sounds invite mine Ear,
So venerably sweet? 'Tis Sion's Lute.
Behold her + Hero! from his valiant Brow
Looks Judah's Lyon, on his Thigh the Sword
Of vanquish'd Apollonius - The shrill Trump
Thro' Bethoron proclaims th' approaching Fight.
I see the brave Youth lead his little Band,
With Toil and Hunger faint; yet from his Arm
The rapid Syrian flies. Thus Henry once,
The British Henry, with his way-worn Troop,
Subdued the Pride of France - now louder blows
+ Judas Maccabaeus

[p.15] The martial Clangor, lo Nicanor's Host!

With threat'ning Turrents crown'd, slowly advance
The pondrous Elephants. -

The blazing Sun, from many a golden Shield
Reflected, gleams afar. Judean Chief!

How shall thy Force, thy little Force sustain
The dreadful Shock!

* The Hero comes 'Tis boundless Mirth and Song
And Dance and Triumph, every labouring String,
And Voice, and breathing Shell in Concert strain
To swell the Raptures of tumultuous Joy.

O Master of the Passions and the Soul,
Seraphic Handel! how shall Words describe
Thy Music's countless Graces, nameless Powers!

* Chorus of Youths, in Judas Maccabaeus.

In 1763, two pamphlets concerning Handel's oratorios were published. The first was the Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Power, the Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions, of Poetry and Music by the Reverend Dr John Brown (1715-1766).¹⁸ In this, Brown was forthright about Handel's librettists. Thomas Morell and his libretto for Judas Maccabaeus, although not specifically mentioned, must have been in Brown's mind. For (whilst exempting the librettist of Messiah) he wrote:

Handel - that great musician being the first who introduced the Oratorio; it became a Matter of Necessity that he should employ some writer in his service. Now this being a degradation to which Men

of Genius will not easily submit, he was forced to apply to Versifiers instead of Poets. Thus the Poem was the Effect either of Hire or Favour, when it ought to have been the voluntary Emanation of Genius. Hence most of the Poems he composed to are such as would have sunk or disgraced any other music than his own.

John Brown did not specifically mention the music of Judas Maccabaeus. But he made the following general comment about Handel's music:

In his Airs, Duets and Choirs, as they surpass everything yet produced in Grandeur and Expression; so they will ever be the richest fountain for Imitation or Adoption, and even singly taken, will justly command the Regard and Admiration of all succeeding Ages.

Also in 1763 was published the anonymous pamphlet, An Examination of the Oratorios which have been performed this season at Covent-Garden Theatre. The author, now identified as Robert Maddison,¹⁹ dedicated his pamphlet to Dr Brown. In his Examination, Maddison stated that he shared Brown's love of Handel's music and agreed with the comments Brown had made about it in his Dissertation. But he felt that Handel's oratorios needed further examination than even Dr Brown had given them. So in a general critical review of the oratorios performed in 1763 (and which must, therefore, apply to the libretto of Judas Maccabaeus) three 'capital defects' were noted by Maddison. In summary these were:

- i. a defect in its dramatic form common to all Handel's oratorios, except Messiah, Alexander's Feast, and the Occasional Oratorio.
- ii. a multitude of absurdities which so frequently recur, both in the plans of the pieces, and the want of order and connection in the execution of them.
- iii. a meanness of the poetry and sentiment; the total absence of everything sublime and pathetic; the untoward and broken numbers, the uncouth and ridiculous rhimes (sic).

The tone of the comments by both Brown and Maddison suggests that they might have had some personal grudge against Morell. Possibly Brown's remarks reflect his jealousy of Morell for having been chosen by Handel as his oratorio librettist. In 1763 John Brown's libretto for The Cure of Saul, a pasticcio devised by Arnold, was first heard at Covent Garden on 4 March. The style of criticism in the Examination of 1763 was aggressive. Nevertheless, it is worth considering how relevant the criticisms may have been to Judas Maccabaeus.

The first 'capital defect' that Maddison stressed concerned dramatic form. It is understandable that the dramatic impact of Judas Maccabaeus on the audience would have been far less in 1763 than when the work had been first performed. Initially the oratorio had been relevant to contemporary circumstances; the Duke of Cumberland's success had caused it to be written. The choice of the Maccabean

story had been most appropriate (see Chapter 2, pages 25-26). Morell had supplied a serviceable account of the Apocryphal story for his libretto, as I have shown in my Synopsis in Chapter 2, pages 30-32. But the relevance of the work must have been far greater in 1747 to those who had just survived the Jacobite Revolt, having faced the possibility of the occupation of London by the rebels, than it was to an audience living in more settled times in 1763.

The dramatic construction of the biblical story in Parts One and Two, as originally supplied, was satisfactory, except for the delay in the action as a result of the inclusion of the 'Liberty' airs in Part One. Part Three was less satisfactory because of the contraction of the story made by Handel in the recitative, 'From Capharsalama'; this contradiction was noted in a footnote on page 14 of the first printed wordbook, perhaps so that Morell could disclaim responsibility.

But within the overall plan of the libretto there are places when the dramatic tension is weak. This is especially true in Morell's treatment of battles which occurred during the Maccabean Revolt. For example, Part One ends as the Jewish army is about to attack. Part Two begins when success has been achieved. Morell provided dramatic details of the encounter after they had happened, as he did in Part Three in the recitative, 'From Capharsalama'. That records the Jewish victory, as seen by an Israelitish Messenger; he announces the gory details quite dispassionately, after they have happened. The dramatic tension would have been far greater if the battles had been described by characters who

were themselves involved in the fighting.

Unlike Handel, Morell was not a man of the theatre. He knew his Bible: what he provided was 'contemplative' action, as it appeared in the Apocrypha, and as it might have been announced by the chorus in a Greek play. But, as a theatrical piece, his libretto lacked urgency, suspense, and excitement.

The Dramatis Personae printed in successive word-books stated that the characters were Judas Macchabaeus; Simon, his brother; and a Chorus of Israelitish Men and Women. But that is an incomplete list. Morell wrote roles for the Israelitish Man and for the Israelitish Woman. They were given prominence, but no personal names were allotted to them. An Israelitish Messenger arrives in Parts Two and Three. At the beginning of Part Three, an Israelitish Priest is introduced. Towards the end of the oratorio Eupolemus, the Jewish Ambassador(sic) to Rome, is allowed one recitative. Morell clearly planned this libretto to avoid as much characterisation as possible. But the omission of any characters opposing the Israelites gives a one-sided view of events, thus weakening the dramatic tension. Morell must have decided that events, not personalities, were to be concentrated upon. Even naming the Israelitish Man and Woman would have focused them too sharply. They represented their countrymen more effectively by their anonymity. Morell took the view that the story demanded a certain amount of information about the hero, but little about anyone else. It would appear that Morell's inexperience as a librettist was revealed here.

Morell provided appropriate texts for the soloists to unfold the story in the recitatives, and a good balance of reflective airs. The chorus plays a key role in the oratorio. In order to maintain the dramatic interest, it emphasises important developments as the story is unfolded.

So, in summary, Morell's libretto differs in style from those of the oratorios that preceded and followed it. There is no personal drama or strong characterisation, as found in Hercules and Belshazzar. The words were not taken straight from the Bible, as they were in Messiah. For the Occasional Oratorio the libretto was selected by Newburgh Hamilton from the writings of Milton, Spenser, Samuel Humphreys, from the Bible, and from his own texts for Samson. Thomas Morell, for his first Handelian libretto, provided original material adapted from the Apocrypha and from Josephus. It would appear that Maddison had not taken all these factors into account in his criticism of the dramatic content of Judas Maccabaeus.

However, there were some textual absurdities, want of connection and ridiculous rhymes, which Maddison identified among the second and third 'capital defects' in the oratorio as performed in 1763. For example, in Judas Maccabaeus Morell allowed his enthusiasm for the classics to produce text such as :

Hurl Jupiter Olympius from his Throne,
Nor rev'rence Bacchus from his Ivy Crown

and: No more in Sion let the Virgin Throng,
 Wild with Delusion pay their nightly Song
 To Ashtoreth, yclep'd the Queen of Heav'n:
 Hence, to Phoenicia be the Goddess driv'n:
in the recitative, 'Ye worshippers of God' (59/49/B).

Morell was an inexperienced poet. He tried too hard to supply poetical phrases, for which he had little gift. For example, in the recitative, 'From Capharsalama' (66/57/AB) he produced:

But lo! the Conqueror comes, and on his Spear
To dissipate all Fear,
He bears the Vaunter's Head, and Hand,
That threaten'd Desolation to the Land.

Another irritating feature of the libretto is Morell's choice of adjectives. Examples occur in the opening chorus, 'Mourn ye afflicted Children' (2/2/1):

 Your sanguine Hopes of Liberty give o'er.
and: Your softer Garments tear,
 And squalid Sackcloth wear;
 Your drooping Heads with Ashes strew,
 And with the flowing Tear your Cheeks bedew.
and: Daughters let your distressful cries,
 And loud Lament ascend the Skies;
 Your tender Bosoms beat, and tear
 With Hands remorseless your dishevll'd Hair.

No doubt Maddison found those adjectives, often placed as the second word of a line, extremely monotonous. He could well have regarded them as examples of his 'absurdities'.

In fairness to Morell, it should be noted that not all

the 'absurdities' were of his making. The composer himself was responsible for inserting new music into the later revivals; these often had attractive music, but texts that made nonsense of the original drama. For example, in Part Two, the air, 'Flowing Joys', inserted in 1750, and used again in 1762 and 1763 (having been omitted in 1761 and in a later performance in 1762), appears to be an example of Maddison's 'meanness of poetry and sentiment' within the context of the Israelite victory celebrations which began with the chorus, 'Fal'n is the Foe' (33/27/18).²⁰ After the recitative, 'Well may we hope' (40/-/B) with the text:

Well may we hope our Freedom to receive,
Such sweet transporting Views thy Actions give.

comes:

Flowing Joys do now surround me,
Rising pure without Controul;
No Despair can ever wound me,
While thy Prowess warms my Soul.

We do not know if Maddison attended any performances of Judas Maccabaeus before 1763, or if his comments resulted entirely from what he heard that season. It is quite possible that he had attended earlier Lenten Oratorio seasons at Covent Garden and heard Judas Maccabaeus before. If he had heard it performed in 1748, 1756 or 1757 he would have heard Handel's air, 'Pow'rful Guardians' (67/-/A)²¹ inserted into the recitative, 'From Capharsalama'. At this point in the story the Messenger brings news of the Israelite victory thus:

From Capharsalama, on Eagle Wings I fly,
With tidings of impetuous Joy. -
Came Lysias, with his Host, array'd
In Coat of Mail; their massy Shields
Of Gold, and Brass, flash'd Lightning through the
Fields.

While the huge Tow'r-back'd Elephants display'd
A horrid front; but Judas, undismay'd,
Met, fought, and vanquished all the rageful Train.

The text of the inserted air then follows with:

Pow'rful Guardians of all Nature,
O preserve my beauteous Love;
Keep from insult the dear Creature. -
Virtue sure hath Charms to move.

After that extraordinary sequence, the Messenger continued
with the original libretto:

Yet more; Nicanor is with thousands slain;
The blasphemous Nicanor, who defy'd
The living God, and in his wanton Pride,
A Monument ordain'd
Of Victories yet ungain'd.

In 1748 (but not in later performances) the audience would
then have heard Handel's next addition; the air, 'Happy, Oh
thrice happy we' (70/-/-):²²

Happy, Oh thrice happy we,
Who enjoy sweet Liberty!
To your Sons this Gem secure,
As bright, as ample, and as pure.

If Maddison had attended performances from 1750 until 1755 he would have heard the first part of 'O Capharsalama', ending with 'Met, fought, and vanquished all the rageful Train' followed by the air, 'All his mercies' (68/-/B)²³ with the words:

All his Mercies I review,
Gladly with a grateful Heart;
And I trust he will renew
Blessings he did once impart.

In 1750 this text was followed by a resumption of the original libretto from 'Yet more; Nicanor is with thousands slain', quoted above. Maddison's 'multitude of absurdities' criticism would have been justified even more had he attended these performances.

In his Examination Robert Maddison included some specific criticisms about the music in Judas Maccabaeus, although he wrote that, along with Acis and Galatea and Alexander's Feast, the oratorio was universally known and deservedly admired. He considered that in the air, 'How vain is Man' (46/38/23), Handel's setting of the words:

How vain is man who boasts in fight
The valour of gygantic (sic) might

relied on too much division²⁴ on single syllables. He chose the air, 'The Lord worketh wonders' (54/43/25) as an example of an imitation of single words even where it was contrary to the sense of the passage. The offending passage was printed as:

The Lord worketh wonders
His glory to raise,
And still as he thunders,
Is fearful in praise.

It is true that Handel repeatedly set the words underlined to extended semiquaver passages, but the result was a lively and extrovert bass air. Clearly the composer's musical imagination had been fired by these words, as Morell had no doubt intended it should.

Whilst he could find no 'hurtfulness of the da capo' in Judas (as there was in Acis and Galatea), Maddison pointed out that in the first act there were five solo songs without the intervention of either chorus or duet. It is not clear what source he used, but he was quite wrong about this, as can be seen from Appendix Chart 13, and from successive printed word-books.

Maddison had reservations about the use of ritornellos, as well as fugues and canons: he considered that the latter were calculated only for the display of the composer's art. Concerning the chorus, 'O Father, whose Almighty pow'r' (8/8/5), Maddison wrote that in setting the lines:

Grant us a leader bold and brave,
If not to conquer, born to save

Handel's fugue was fine, but the expression was without meaning.

In Maddison's opinion Handel frequently fell into the defect of setting text to recitative which should have been an air, and as airs those which should have been choruses. As an example he quotes the air, 'The Lord worketh wonders'

(53/43/25), and categorises it as a 'light air'. He considered that it should have been a 'full chorus'. Maddison maintained that the tenor air, 'Sound an alarm' (56/45/26), 'conducted by Handel's powers, would have made a noble imitative, as well as a sublime chorus; but, at present, it can neither delight nor affect much'.

Later he stated that :

the too great sameness, in general, of the subjects and conduct of the choirs in the same piece, is most eminently conspicuous in Judas Maccabaeus of all other of Handel's compositions.

In these cases it is difficult to understand Maddison's criticism of Handel's music in Judas Maccabaeus. To describe 'The Lord worketh wonders' as a 'light air', and to suggest that 'Sound an alarm' can 'neither delight nor affect much' is absurd. Had Handel been alive in 1763, doubtless he would have had some pungent remarks to make about Maddison's criticism of the music in this oratorio.

Brown himself in his Dissertation²⁵ had some interesting comments about the manner of performance of the oratorios of 1763, which, by implication, applied to Judas Maccabaeus. He wrote:

The Performance of the Oratorio in England, under its present defective state, in some Respects may be censured; in others is to be approved. The Exhibition of the Choir and accompanying Band is not only decent, but grand and striking: A becoming Gravity attends it, both among the Performers and the Audience. The Airs and Choirs

are often sung with a Decorum not unsuitable to the Dignity of the Occasion. On the other Hand, there are Defects which naturally arise from the Separation of the Performers from the Poet's and Musician's Art.- The Singers are not always so animated in their Manner, as to create a Belief in the Audience (whenever a true poetic and musical Expression are united) that they feel the sentiments they express. If a grand Simplicity of Performance were still more studied, it would give an additional lustre to their Talents. Above all, the flourished Close or Cadence is below the Dignity of the Sacred Drama, and absolutely destructive of all true Musical Expression.

Charles Burney, in his A General History of Music makes no assessment of this oratorio, but his rival, John Hawkins, in 1776, in his A General History of Music²⁶ stated that 'Handel wrote for two sorts of persons, the judicious and the vulgar', and asserted that it was for the latter that Handel wrote 'See the conqu'ring Hero comes', 'Pow'rful Guardians' and 'Come ever-smiling Liberty'.

One might conjecture that those responsible for eighteenth-century provincial performances of Judas Maccabaeus, perhaps having heard the work performed in London, were enthusiastic about this oratorio, since they brought Judas Maccabaeus to their own areas. These include Matthew Dubourg in Dublin,²⁷ Dr William Hayes in Oxford,²⁸ James Harris at Salisbury,²⁹ and Sir Stephen Hellier on his Wombourne estate, near Wolverhampton.³⁰

The most important source of evidence about Judas Maccabaeus we have is a letter by Thomas Morell to an unknown correspondent, written sometime after the composer's death. It is undated, but we may surmise that it was written sometime after 10 February 1769.³¹ From this letter, which I have quoted at some length and analysed in Chapter 1 above, we can deduce additional information about the reception of Judas Maccabaeus, both during Handel's lifetime and in the subsequent period until 1774.

From the letter we learn that the Royal Family were involved in various ways with Judas Maccabaeus. Morell tells us that it was through the recommendation of Frederick, Prince of Wales, that he became Handel's librettist for this oratorio. We have no evidence that King George II, or any of his children, ever attended a performance of the work. But the Duke of Cumberland must have approved of the sentiments expressed in it, since the letter tells us that the Duke gave Morell 'a handsome present by the hands of Mr Poyntz'. Stephen Poyntz had been governor and friend of the Duke since 1731. Poyntz, who was subsequently knighted, died in 1750;³² so it follows that the 'handsome present' was given before then. Poyntz was probably instructed to give Morell the present whilst Cumberland was out of the country. The Duke left London to continue fighting the French early in February 1747 and did not return until the autumn of that year.³³

From the letter we also learn that 'the success of Judas Maccabaeus was very great': this confirms Lord Shaftesbury's words, that the oratorio 'went off with very

great Applause'.³⁴ Morell stated that he wished he had, in jest, asked Handel for:

the benefit of the 30th Night instead of a 3d. I am sure he would have given it me: on which night the[re] was above 400£ in the House. He left me a legacy however of 200£.

The performance on 'the 30th night' was that given on 3 March 1758 (see Appendix Chart 4, pp. A81-89; and Deutsch, Handel, p.795). The letter suggests that the relationship between librettist and composer, even during the composition of Judas Maccabaeus, was cordial. In view of their later collaboration in Alexander Balus, Theodora, Jeptha and The Triumph of Time and Truth the fact that Handel allocated twice the sum of money in his will to that he gave to Newburgh Hamilton is understandable.³⁵ Morell proved to be a most successful librettist for Handel's later oratorios.

Again, Morell's letter also reveals that Judas Maccabaeus was planned at its outset as a 'compliment to the Duke of Cumberland', and not just dedicated to him after its completion. One phrase from the letter - 'I had introduced several incidents more apropos, but it was thought they would make it too long and were therefore omitted' - confirms that cuts in Morell's libretto were made by Handel; footnotes in the original word-book also suggest this. Morell does not tell us anything about his own assessment of his libretto, although from the general tone of the letter it seems he was pleased with it. His only comment about the music concerned the inserted air, 'Wise men, flatt'ring' (60/50/27b):

That incomparable Air, Wise men flattering, may deceive us (which was the last he composed, as Sion now her head shall raise, was his last chorus) was designed for Belshazzar, but that not being perform'd he happily flung it into Judas Maccabaeus.

One may surmise from this that Morell was not too happy with the additions made to his original text, even if the music was 'incomparable'.

Later in the same letter, Morell, writing about Theodora, quoted Handel as saying:

the Jews will not come to it (as to Judas)
because it is a Christian story; and the
Ladies will not come, because it [is] a
virtuous one.

This is the only evidence we have that London's Jewish community patronised performances of Judas Maccabaeus. The latter part of that statement, presumably, may be attributed to Morell's wit.

Judas Maccabaeus and Handel

From Morell's letter we learn nothing of what Handel thought of Judas Maccabaeus. However, in another source,³⁶ it is alleged that Handel agreed with the young John Hawkins that his 'additional' piece 'See the conqu'ring Hero comes' was not as good as some items he had written. Handel is also said to have confessed that a friend³⁷ whose opinion he had sought on this oratorio had picked out the best songs, but taken no notice of that which was to get him

all the money,³⁸ i.e. what had made the oratorio popular.

Clearly, Handel was concerned with the box-office response to Judas Maccabaeus. In order to keep that momentum he was very willing to add successful items from his other oratorios to Judas Maccabaeus, even during the first season, as has been noted in Chapter 4. For the fourth performance, movements derived from Deborah were added. In 1748, Joshua and Alexander Balus provided additional items. In 1750, more movements from Joshua found their place in Judas Maccabaeus.

What is significant is that, following the first performance, Handel did not write any new music for this oratorio, except for the short passages needed to amend the endings of some recitatives to accommodate added movements or new singers. He seems to have been generally satisfied with what he had already produced. There are, however, three places where the musical evidence suggests that Handel felt some need for improvement to the score.

Firstly, from his frequent changes to the recitative, 'From Capharsalama' (66/57/AB) (as can be seen in Appendix Chart 7) it would appear that Handel realised he had been wrong to omit some of Morell's text here. Secondly, he may have had doubts about the original placing of The March (as can be seen from Appendix Table 6), possibly because of technical difficulties encountered by horn players so early in the work. Thirdly, in 1748, the air, 'O Liberty' (15/15/9) was restored to Judas Maccabaeus. We know that it had been intended for this oratorio from the footnote in the first printed word-book (see Chapter 2, page 44).

When a fifth soloist was introduced into this oratorio during the last decade of Handel's life, it was to suit performance circumstances (i.e. the cast for the current season), and not primarily to 'improve' the music. It is remarkable that even the introduction of Gaetano Guadagni into the cast in the early 1750s did not stimulate Handel to write any new music for him to sing in Judas Maccabaeus, as he had done for the later performances of Messiah³⁹ and Belshazzar.⁴⁰

Judas Maccabaeus and J.C.Smith the younger

We have no record of the opinion held by J.C.Smith the younger about Judas Maccabaeus, but, presumably, he must have thought well of it. Smith was content to keep Handel's oratorios as the main attraction for the Lenten Oratorio Season at Covent Garden in the decade following Handel's death, and from 1770 at Drury Lane. In these theatres he revived Judas Maccabaeus every season during the fifteen years he was in charge, as can be seen in Appendix Chart 11. For the 1760 season he kept to the 1759 scheme of movements. For the next season he made certain additions to the oratorio, as outlined in Chapter 6, and shown in Appendix Charts 12 and 13. From 1764, however, he was content to leave Judas Maccabaeus virtually unchanged.

William Coxe tells us that Smith was introduced to King George III soon after his accession to the throne, and describes how he managed to persuade the new King to patronise his oratorio performances.⁴¹ His friendship with the Royal Family flourished, and from 1760 there were

Command Performances of Judas Maccabaeus every season from 1760 until 1773. These eventually achieved the total number of twenty (see Appendix Chart 11, page A 144). It would appear that George III and his Court, as well as Smith, thought highly of Judas Maccabaeus, or found it flattering by association.

EPILOGUE

Judas Maccabaeus was the first of Handel's 'Victory Oratorios'. It came at the beginning of a period of national recovery from the difficulties experienced by the nation in the early days of the Hanoverian monarchy. Judas Maccabaeus was followed by Joshua and Alexander Balus in 1748. After the signing of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in October 1748 came Solomon in 1749. Within three years the fortunes of both nation and composer had changed dramatically, and the subject-matter of Handel's oratorios reflect this.

Initially Judas Maccabaeus owed its success to the topicality of its libretto, and to its direct, tuneful, music. Both appealed to the 'middling classes' who, in 1747, formed the bulk of the audience at Covent Garden. Yet, as was noted in Chapter 4, Issue 1b of the word-book reveals that Handel, even in 1747, was prepared to add to it music of his own which had proved successful in other oratorios; such was his pragmatism. Later he made changes to the work in order that it should remain an artistic success with good box-office appeal.

From 1760 until 1774, the younger J.C.Smith, aided by John Stanley, maintained the success of the work in London by performing it during every Lenten season. Judas

Maccabaeus continued to receive 'additions' from 1761 until 1764. But thereafter, apart from minor adjustments to suit performance conditions, no changes were made to it; but its popularity continued. The oratorio's appeal was such that it even received simultaneous performances at Drury Lane and Covent Garden on Wednesday 7 March 1770.

Possibly the original *raison d'être* of Judas Maccabaeus was forgotten by the audiences of this later period. With the demise of Jacobitism, the Hanoverian monarchy was well established during the early reign of King George III; he, as well as his family, regularly attended performances of Judas Maccabaeus. No doubt the traditional English view that God had two chosen races, one biblical and the other contemporary, kept one of the messages of this oratorio topical. The increasing influence of John and Charles Wesley in the religious life of the country, and the growth of Nonconformism, helped to keep biblical stories fresh in the minds of potential oratorio-goers.

The popularity of the oratorio could well have been assisted by the publication of various movements as 'domestic' music to be played in the home, and by the publication in 1769 of Randall's edition of the oratorio. Unfortunately the errors of that edition remain with us today (see Chapter 6, on pages 263-266). Later, probably using successive editions of Randell, provincial performances of Judas Maccabaeus increased; doubtless a number of country enthusiasts found their way to London during Lent to hear performances of it under the direction of the composer's former assistant.

In spite of its shortcomings, there is no denying that Judas Maccabaeus was, and remains, a landmark in musical history. It has stood the test of time, and remains an enjoyable work both to hear and to perform. In the period between 1747 and 1774, two of Handel's oratorios received far more performances than the others. We can attribute some of the popularity of Messiah to its deep religious significance, and its special association with charity performances. Judas Maccabaeus, although designed originally as a 'victory oratorio', sustained its popularity more directly, on the basis of its own merit.

CHAPTER 7.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See Streatfeild, Handel, page 197.
2. See Deutsch, Handel, p.640.
3. See Deutsch, op.cit., p.651.
4. See Deutsch, op.cit., p.771.
5. See The New Grove, vol.8, p.118.
6. In 1747, on 9 April (following the performances of Judas Maccabaeus on 8 April) Handel paid in £250 to his bank. In 1748, on 27 February and 3 March, his account was increased by £300 and £200, respectively (following revivals of the oratorio on 26 February and 2 March). In 1750 (following the revival of Judas Maccabaeus on 14 March) his account was credited with £200 on 15 March. In 1751 the account was increased by £400 on 21 March (following a performance on 20 March). In 1752, £300 was paid in to the bank on 19 March (following a performance of Judas Maccabaeus on 18 March). On 24 March, £640 was deposited into Handel's bank account: but that may not have been entirely due to the box-office takings from Judas Maccabaeus on 20 March. Pre-concert ticket sales for the charity concert for Decayed Musicians, held at the King's Theatre on 24 March, and for performances of Messiah at Covent Garden on 25 and 26 March could have been included in this amount.

(See Deutsch, Handel pp.639, 646, 682, 705, 721, 722; also Appendix Chart 4).

7. The London Stage, part 4, vol.1, p.42.
8. See Deutsch, op.cit., p.699.
9. The London Stage, op.cit., pp. 213,281, 284.
10. The London Stage, op.cit., pp. 247, 302.
11. Boydell, A Dublin Musical Calendar, pp. 114, 136,146.
12. Deutsch, op.cit., p.743.
13. Dean, HDOM, pp 479-480; Boden, Three Choirs, pp.25,27.
14. Deutsch, op.cit., pp. 753,775.
15. Deutsch, op.cit., p.765.
16. On p. 200.
17. Advertised in The Gentleman's Magazine, vol.30, (March) 1760, p.145.
18. Brown was an English clergyman, writer and amateur musician. See J.C.Kassler, 'John Brown', The New Grove, vol.3, p.343-4. Brown had helped Charles Avison (1709-1770) compile his An Essay on Musical Expression, which was published in 1752 (see DNB, vol. III (London, reprint 1973), p.11. Brown's An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times was in two volumes, published respectively in 1757 and 1758. Now dubbed John 'Estimate' Brown owing to the popularity of that work, he produced his Dissertation, to which he prefixed his libretto, The Cure of Saul. At the beginning of An Estimate, under the heading 'Advertisement', Brown wrote, 'The Relation which the following Ode and Dissertation bear to each other,

though perhaps not apparent at first sight, render it necessary to publish them in this united Manner'.

19. See R.B.Larson, "Charles Avison's 'Styles in Musical Expression.'", Music and Letters, vol.63,(1982), p.270.
20. See Chapter 4, p.148; and Appendix Chart 15.
21. See Chapter 4, p.179, n.16.
22. See Chapter 4, p.147.
23. See Chapter 4, pp.148, 181 n.20.
24. 'Division' here is more likely to refer to ornamentation or embellishment (see Donington, The Interpretation of Early Music, p. 160) rather than the seventeenth-century meaning of 'Division', implying a variation on a ground (see The New Grove, vol.5, p.509).
25. On p.221.
26. A General History of the Science and Practice of Music (London, 1776; republished London,Novello,1853; reprinted New York, Dover Publications, 1963), vol.II, p.913.
27. See Boydell, op.cit., p.114; The New Grove, vol.5, p.666; W.Dean, HDOM, pp.478-479.
28. See Dean, op.cit., pp. 479-480; The New Grove, vol.8, p.413.
29. See Dean, op.cit., p.479; C.T.Probyn, The Sociable Humanist. The Life and Works of James Harris, p.24.
30. See Young, 'The Shaw-Hellier Collection' (T.Best, ed., Handel Collections and their History), pp.158-168.

31. Hodgkin MSS., Historical MSS. Commission, Report XV, Appendix 2. See Deutsch, Handel, p.851-3.
32. See Whitworth, William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, pp.11, 100, 219.
33. Whitworth, op.cit., pp. 110, 123.
34. Dean, HDOM p.471; Deutsch, op.cit., p. 848.
35. Hamilton received £100. See Deutsch, op.cit., p.776.
36. Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, Anecdotes, 1823-4. Quoted in Scholes, The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins, Da Capo Reprint of the 1953 OUP edition, p.15.
37. The Rev'd Mr Fountayne of Marylebone.
38. Streatfeild, Handel. p. 315.
39. Burrows, Handel: Messiah, p.42.
40. See Preface to Handel, Belshazzar (Novello Handel Edition, ed D.Burrows), p.xii.
41. Coxe, Anecdotes of John Christopher Smith, pp.52-53.